reason

ECEMBER 1972
PECIAL ISSUE

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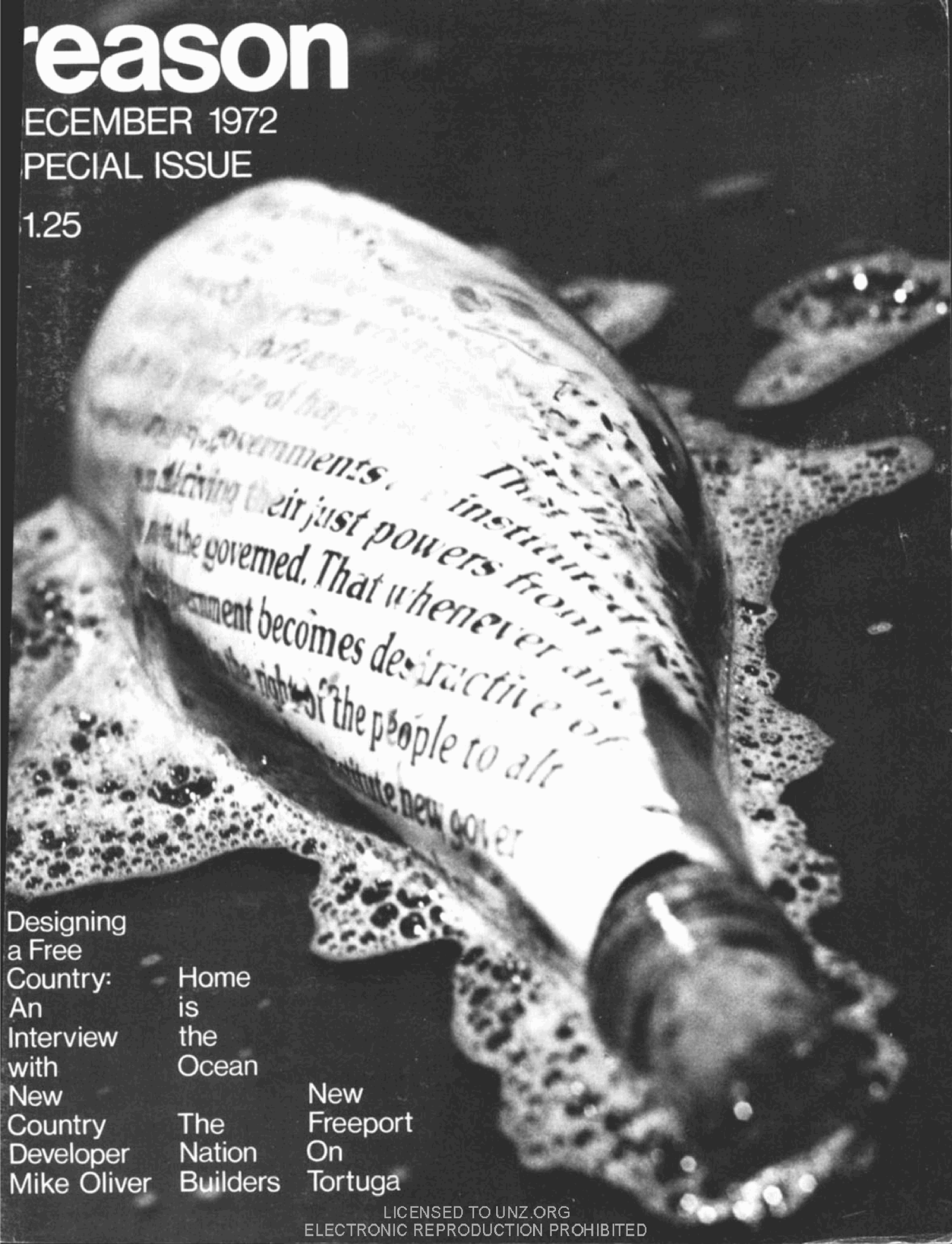

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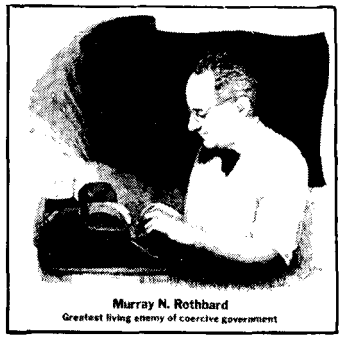

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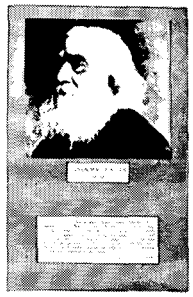

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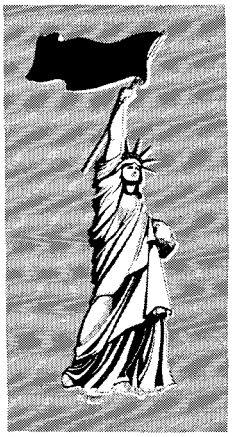

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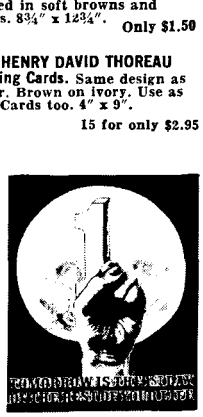

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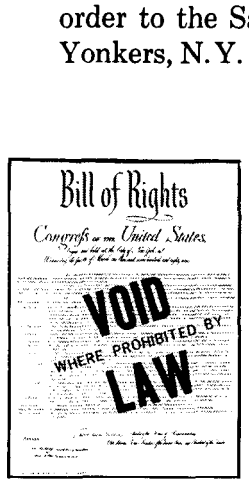

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DECEMBER 1972
Volume 4, Number 8

reason

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REASON is published monthly by Reason Enterprises, 294 Via El Encantador, Santa Barbara, California 93111. Tel (805) 964-4131. Second class postage paid at Santa Barbara, California, and at additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1972 by Reason Enterprises. All rights reserved.

CORRESPONDENCE: Address comments, manuscripts (for return, please include a self-addressed envelope with postage), and subscription orders to P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, California 93111.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single copies, 75 cents; special issues, $1.25. Subscriptions: one year (12 issues) in the United States, $9.00; 2 years, $17.00; 3 years, $25.00 (Canada and Mexico, add 50 cents a year). Other countries: one year, $10.50; 2 years, $20.00; 3 years, $29.50.

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editorial introduction

TIME TO START OVER?

In recent months *REASON* has given much coverage to the new Libertarian Party. This is consistent with *REASON*'s general emphasis on an evolutionary approach to achieving a free society—namely by working to enhance the spread of libertarian ideas so as to promote radical reforms in American institutions. Now, however, with the 1972 elections behind us, the editors thought it appropriate to explore with you an alternative approach—the creation of completely new libertarian countries, starting from scratch, somewhere in the world other than the United States.

To some, such a strategy may smack of defeatism. To those readers, let us assure you that neither *REASON*, nor the new-country entrepreneurs discussed in this issue, have given up on the United States. Certainly we at *REASON* intend to continue to expand our efforts at reaching people and influencing the trend of ideas in this country. Nevertheless, we are only being realistic to admit that we have no guarantee that our efforts (or those of other libertarians) will succeed. Indeed, there is some basis for thinking that fundamentally changing the U.S.'s direction is no longer possible (short of revolution or total economic collapse). Thus, both as an effort parallel to *REASON*'s, and as an ultimate alternative in case of domestic catastrophe, the new-country efforts represent a valuable addition to the ongoing battle for freedom.

Why does the outlook for the U.S. appear so potentially bleak? Aren't truth and reason bound to prevail eventually? Ultimately, libertarian ideas may indeed reach enough people so that a certain kind of moral revolution may occur. But consider the nature of our semi-fascist corporate state system. Even with a moral revolution, may we not still be virtually *locked into* a continuously-expanding, ultimately self-destructing bureaucratic monster?

The political-economic structure created over the past hundred years cannot be wiped out at the stroke of a pen, without immense hardship to millions of people. The Social Security and Railroad Retirement systems are virtual perpetual motion machines, dependent on continued taxation in order to fulfill obligations made to retired and still-working people (most of whom would have entered other retirement plans if these systems didn't exist). 25 and 30-year municipal bonds are held by millions who are depending on future tax revenues to make good their investment. The multibillion dollar national debt is owed to millions of federal bondholders—again—by the expectation of future tax revenues.

At a Libertarian Party dinner this fall I asked Dr. Hospers what he would do about the national debt and Social Security if (hypothetically) he were elected president. He replied apologetically that since people had bought government bonds and paid Social Security taxes in good-faith expectation of future returns, taxation for these programs would have to continue until all present obligations were met. This is what is meant by being locked in!

And what of the future? On the horizon are a guaranteed annual income (under whatever euphemistic label), a compulsory federal health program, possibly permanent wage and price controls, and the continued growth of bureaucracies with a vested interest in keeping social problems (crime, poverty, unemployment) in existence as an excuse for new programs and larger budgets. And in 1976—the spectre of Edward Kennedy in the White House looms large.

It is considerations such as these that motivate the proponents of libertarian new-country projects. Why, they ask, should we who opposed the growth of collectivism at every step continue to be taxed to support its growth, patch up its failures, and pay off its debts? Mike Oliver, in the Declaration of Purpose of his limited-government constitution, put it this way: "Let the establishment of 'social meddlers' reap its own harvest; let the innocent person, who tried in vain to stop the onslaught of totalitarianism, escape the horror."

It is in this spirit that we present this special issue on new-country projects. The issue leads off with an interview—the first ever to appear—with Mike Oliver, probably the most experienced of the new-country developers. Mr. Oliver has produced a well-conceived libertarian constitution, proclaimed the Republic of Minerva in the South Pacific, and is actively engaged in negotiations to acquire several other land areas around the world. Another perspective is provided by entrepreneur Will Barkley, who argues that the most feasible place to start a new freedom settlement is in the oceans. Mr. Barkley does more than just talk—he is actively involved in developing the technology to make such settlements possible. A third approach is illustrated by the Tortuga project described in Robert Meier's article. This project is a relatively conventional no-taxation freeport development which offers potentially significant advantages in personal and economic freedom over most of the rest of the globe. Finally, Prof. John Snare provides a critical review of these and the other libertarian new-country ventures and offers his prognosis for their success. Prof. Snare has been associated with Operation Atlantis, a proposed proprietary community, and thereby speaks from experience.

To repeat the initial caveat: *REASON* has not abandoned the fight for freedom in the United States. But in these days of Soviet emigration taxes on Jews, and of IRS surveillance of fund transfers out of the U.S., the prudent libertarian would do well to be aware of all the options available. One of these days, they just might be needed.

ROBERT POOLE, JR.

designing a free country

AN INTERVIEW WITH MIKE OLIVER

In February 1968 a new paperback book emerged from the presses of Fine Arts Press, a small printer in Reno, Nevada. The book, titled A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR A NEW COUNTRY, *offered nothing less than a totally new constitution, based on libertarian principles of voluntarism and non-initiation of force. The author was Mike Oliver, a successful land developer and coin dealer in Carson City. Response to the book, which was advertised in several fledgeling libertarian periodicals and by word-of-mouth, was so great that a second printing was ordered three months later. And in July 1968, Volume-1, Number 1 of the* CAPITALIST COUNTRY NEWSLETTER *appeared. The newsletter (now continuing as the* MIKE OLIVER NEWSLETTER*) outlined plans for a long-term venture to acquire territory,* with full sovereignty, *for the establishment of a libertarian, free-enterprise country. Newsletter issues since 1968 have chronicled Oliver's four-year efforts, thus far not successful, to obtain land from an existing government without crippling restrictions.*

Who is Mike Oliver and how did he get involved in trying to start a new country? Mr. Oliver was born in Lithuania in 1928. During World War II he spent four years in a Nazi concentration camp. After the war he came to the United States and served five years in the U.S. Air Force. In California during the late 50s and early 60s he worked as an engineering writer, until becoming a land developer in Nevada in 1965. In the latter capacity he has developed subdivisions in Carson City, putting in streets, sidewalks, utilities, etc. and preparing the area for building construction. He is currently president of Carson Development Corporation and is associated with Oliver-Roza Corporation. In Nevada Oliver also started the highly successful Nevada Coin Exchange which sells gold and silver coins as inflation hedges.

It was in California that Oliver came in contact with the libertarian philosophy, largely through the influence of Andrew Galambos' Free Enterprise Institute and later via the Nathaniel Branden Institute. The works of Ayn Rand and Ludwig von Mises served as Oliver's main inspiration for the idea of a new, thoroughly libertarian country, which in turn led to his book and the whole new-country project.

In January 1972, after the rise and fall of potential new-country sites in the Turks and Caicos Islands, Central America; and the New Hebrides, Oliver and several associates proclaimed the Republic of Minerva—a new country to be created on the Minerva Reefs in the South Pacific. The Minerva project attracted world-wide notice via a number of wire-service stories, as well as incurring the wrath of the king of Tonga, who subsequently sent a landing party to raise his own flag over the reefs. Undaunted, the Minerva Provisional Government (in which Oliver does not serve) announced its intention of proceeding with the project. Oliver himself, meanwhile, continues his world-wide efforts to negotiate for other sites.

REASON *interviewed Mike Oliver in Santa Barbara late this past summer. The discussion ranged over a wide variety of topics; unfortunately, several of the most exciting topics must remain off the record at this time, in order not to jeopardize ongoing activities. Here, then, in its slightly censored form, is what we learned.*

REASON: You began writing *A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR A NEW COUNTRY* in 1966. Did you start with the idea of writing a constitution or did you first start looking for a location to develop a new country?

OLIVER: Both came at the same time. In 1966 I began to see that the United States could be taken over by elements similar to the Nazi Storm Troopers. When I see that someone starts throwing bombs, shooting from roof tops, starting fires, and blocking streets, I see Storm Trooper tactics. If we permit this to continue, these elements who scream for "freedom" to do this violence will take over the United States and install a fascist regime. Although this is being done in the name of "liberalism" and "freedom now," I'm not concerned here with semantics but only with actual facts. Let me say here that those libertarians who give aid and comfort to such elements are helping destroy the United States only to have it replaced with a regime which is unimaginably worse. Such "libertarians" are part of the problem rather than the solution.

I wanted to bring this out because it grieves me to see some muddle-headed "libertarians" throwing in with these guys. Of course, the "libertarians" are the first to get exterminated once this element takes over. Such was the case when Castro took Cuba. Castro would have never succeeded without "libertarian" help. But when they helped him get rid of one fascist, they replaced him with another one who was even worse. In Russia, "libertarians" were instrumental in the overthrow of the Czar, only to have him replaced with Lenin and Stalin. In France the King was replaced with Robespierre and the guillotine, with the help of "libertarians".

REASON: Of course, the anarchists are shoved out right away.

OLIVER: Naturally, and that's what will happen again. This is history. I'd like to coin a phrase: "Some Libertarians seem to be notorious for helping destroy bad governments only to have them replaced with worse ones."

REASON: On the other hand, I take it you think your approach, starting from scratch in a new country, will avoid this problem.

OLIVER: We have to give everyone the maximum amount of freedom. But those who would establish a free society are limited by reality to follow a very narrow path, as far as their actions are concerned. Thus, we are not to interfere with personal rights. A free community will not punish for *victimless crimes*. People want to commit suicide—let them do that. If they want to destroy themselves through excessive drinking, smoking, or any other thing, it's their right. Societies must be structured to guarantee such rights. But, such societies must also include safeguards against those who would interfere with others' rights. Such rights include the right of the Bank of America to be left alone, or the right not to get shot at from roof tops, or the right not to get blocked by demonstrators from going through a street. Actions which violate such rights are not to be tolerated at all. If we deviate from the aforementioned rights, or permit these rights to be destroyed by others, we will end up with a dictatorship.

REASON: Perhaps you could briefly outline the basic structure of the government you propose, and explain why it will not be corrupted into the type of government we now have in the U. S..

OLIVER: First, I want to say that we must recognize that we are not gods and that we are capable of making mistakes. I am *not* offering any utopian scheme which will work forever. I'm merely hoping that what I propose will work better. The available facts point in this direction. My main point in the Constitution is that government is to be limited to only one function, to protect against force and fraud. Let me quote from my book:

> "Government, under this constitution, can be construed as a private corporation, which is to be *hired* by participants on a *voluntary* basis, for the specific purpose of protecting their personal rights. Regardless of majority vote, no person, entity, or governmental agency may take away these rights from others.

The main thesis of the Preamble (and stressed throughout the Constitution) is that a person may delegate only those functions to government which he, himself, may rightfully perform. It is usually agreed and understood that a single person may not plunder or otherwise infringe upon rights of others. Less understood is the fact that a gathering of looters into gangs, in order to have government perform the unwholesome act of looting, is in no way less corruptive than if the act is performed by a single individual. Nor does the percentage of voters asking for such looting change this basic fact.

This point is not at all clear in the U. S. Constitution. On the contrary, its Preamble contains the stipulation that it was created, in part, to promote the "general welfare."

REASON: We noted that your Constitution includes a Glossary of key terms so that there won't be misinterpretation of terms like "general welfare."

OLIVER: This is something the U. S. Constitution lacks. I consider it a serious fault. The term "freedom" means many different things to different people. Therefore, I defined it and other key terms.

"Government will be financed on a voluntary basis. By taking away the power to tax, we will prevent government from being able to grow."

REASON: Your book states that government will be financed on a *voluntary* basis. *How will you support the government without forced taxation?*

OLIVER: Government will provide a service which will make it beneficial for people to support it by voluntary premiums. In areas such as military defense, there may be people who get a "free ride." However, those who do not pay premiums will not have the right to initiate court action against other persons.

REASON: Do you think the power to tax is basic in allowing government to extend beyond its original limited function?

OLIVER: Definitely. And by taking this power away, we will prevent government from being able to expand and grow like a cancer. I repeat that government, in its proper role, can be thought of as a private agency hired for the sole function of protecting against force and fraud.

REASON: So basically, this means there will be two classes of people: those who voluntarily pay the annual premium (participants) and those who are just residents, who choose essentially to take a free ride, receiving, at least, external defense protection at no cost.

OLIVER: Foreign defense protection they get free.

REASON: This, of course, is the classic "free rider" or externality problem in economics, in that a person receives benefits as a result of activity by others, but does not personally pay for them. What you have to figure out is how to make the benefits that the government offers to participants attractive enough compared to the spill-over benefits nonparticipants get, so that enough people will decide to become participants and pay for the government. How do you solve this problem?

OLIVER: The first thing is to limit government *only* to protection against force and fraud. This means that there will be *no* free schools, *no* social security, *no* government welfare, etc. The people will get only court protection, police protection, and external defense from government. Not even internal police protection will be free, although there will be occasions where non-participants will get benefit of the police; if a person is being robbed, a policeman seeing it will stop the crime even if the victim is a non-participant.

REASON: Of course, the deterrent effect of having a law enforcement system will theoretically help to protect everyone by keeping the level of crime down.

OLIVER: However, there will still be a great incentive to participate in paying for the government. For example, assuming that I am a person wishing to purchase a house on a mortgage basis, I know that first of all the lending agency will want to have the house insured for fire. Secondly, I believe that the lending agency will want me to have government participation insurance. Otherwise I would have no right to initiate a law suit against a transgressor. On the other hand, whether or not I pay for the government, I could still be taken to court for infringing on the rights of a participant.

These provisions may cause a person to state that my book, after all, does not propose a voluntary government, inasmuch as non-participants would be at such a great disadvantage that they would almost be compelled to support it. Yet, I am merely pointing out that government *can* perform a very vital function, to the extent where most people would not wish to be without any of its proper services. Just because a service or product is so vital that most people would not be without it, it cannot be stated that force is used to make you purchase its services, unless you are compelled to do so. No one will put me in jail for dropping my life or health insurance, but I will keep them because they perform an extremely vital service for me.

REASON: Functionally, your government participation premium and insurance premiums are very similar, aren't they?

OLIVER: Yes, they are. And payment of the premiums could be provided as a fringe benefit by companies for their employees, just as they do how with insurance.

REASON: How much do you estimate the annual premium would be?

OLIVER: Considering police, courts, and military protection, I believe it can be done for about $100 per person per year. This figure is not high because government is not to be involved in all those welfare things and other immoral projects. Some people may say, "How can you have government without taxation?" They forget that when the U. S. didn't have the income tax, it didn't have a deficit; at least not the present type of deficit. They occasionally had deficits but they were actually reduced.

REASON: It got periodically paid off between wars.

OLIVER: Right. Whereas now they have income

taxes and many other taxes and the more they tax, the more they have deficits.

REASON: And the more they think of government functions to spend money on.

OLIVER: Yes. We will never get out of it. Right now we are having the largest government deficit since World War II. Remember, in my proposed system the people can always "cut their water off." The people can always say to the government, "We are not paying you—you are not doing the job."

REASON: Would there be anything to prevent another agency from offering one or more of the services which your proposed government would perform, such as offering private police protection for an annual fee?

OLIVER: Let's face it, in the U. S. we have private police protection for those willing to pay for it. *We* are certainly not going to produce a government that's worse than the U. S. Government. But, remember that a private agency providing police protection is still doing it under the standards of the U. S..

REASON: You mean within a single legal system?

OLIVER: Yes—the standards have to be the same. We could have more than one private agency performing "government" functions, but at a certain level we would have to have coordination. That coordinated level could be called "government." In the New Hebrides there is a French government, there is a British government, and a Condominium government. The Condominium government is composed of French and British officials. The French government only takes care of the French nationals and the British government takes care of the British nationals.

REASON: Almost as though they were subscribers.

OLIVER: British subjects *must* choose British government and French citizens must choose French. But Americans, Germans, or others can have their choice of French or British government. Let's say you have chosen French and I have chosen British and we have a dispute. Then we go to the Condominium Court. At that Court there is a British and a French judge. There is supposed to be a representative of the King of Spain to break any deadlock.

REASON: That's really an interesting mix because the French and British are under two very different legal codes. The French are under Napoleonic Code, which is quite different from British common law.

OLIVER: But remember, when there is a dispute between a French and British national, they go to the Condominium Court which has its *own* code.

REASON: So they really have *three legal systems* there?

OLIVER: They do, but in any given court case you can see that only *one* code is used. If two Frenchmen have a dispute, they settle the matter under the Napoleonic Code. Two Britishers go by the British Code, but French and British disputants settle matters under the Condominium Code.

REASON: What happens if one of the two Frenchmen disagrees with the verdict? Is there a Court of Appeal?

OLIVER: They are stuck with the French Court. I believe that under certain conditions they may appeal to the Commissioner in New Caledonia. Thus, as can be seen, even where there is more than one legal entity, you still have an agency which can act when disputants of two legal entities have a court case. You can call that overall entity "government." Without it, you will have chaos. There is no way to get around it, regardless of the schemes and dreams that various libertarians come up with.

REASON: Was your Constitution basically your own effort, or did you have advice from people with legal or political science backgrounds?

OLIVER: Many of the ideas were inspired by Ayn Rand, Ludwig von Mises, and Andrew Galambos. I don't think I could have derived all concepts independently. As far as writing the book is concerned, I occasionally had advice and help from friends.

REASON: Since you have written it, have you had people with legal training and sociological background evaluate it in terms of its practical implementation?

OLIVER: I had quite a few evaluations. Often I found myself debating with ten people at the same time. And someone always made suggestions that I was too strong, or too weak at some point. I wasn't trying to please anyone but just do a good job.

REASON: Why does the book propose *three* levels of government; wouldn't one or two be sufficient?

OLIVER: The book was written keeping in mind a large country such as the U. S. I wanted to show that even a complex country could exist under conditions of freedom. We know that a person by himself on an island needs no constitution at all. A small village does not require much of a societal structure either. But, it is a different matter if you consider a large country with racial problems, pollution problems, organized crime, and foreign aggression. And, should it be impossible to design a societal structure which will handle these problems in a manner consistent with freedom, then the totalitarians would be right, and we would be wrong. I wanted to show that libertarian principles could be *practical for implementation* even in the United States. Thus, although I want to start a new country, I kept the United States in mind, even though I know that this sort of constitution will not be adapted in the U. S. in the foreseeable future.

REASON: But given that it was workable on a large scale, it would then be possible to scale it down to a simpler situation, so as to tailor it for any particular size country.

OLIVER: That's right. It has already been done. I asked Bud Davis to do so for a country the size of Minerva. He uses the same definitions of terms, and much of the material is the same as is in my book.

REASON: Are there any significant changes that you would make since the book was written?

OLIVER: I made a number of mistakes. For example, on the disposition of newly acquired property, I stated that government may sell it at auctions. Actually, that is a mistake, since government is not to have such property to start with. It is to be acquired by first use. This was pointed out to me by a friend, and I agree. In CHAPTER III, I enumerated the *main* duties of government. They are all consistent with the principle that government should only act as an agency to protect against force and fraud. Instead of using the words "main duties", I should have said "*only* duties." Another point I should have made in the book is that all the agencies of government have already been defined therein and that no regulatory agencies are to be permitted.

REASON: Despite the very limited functions of government, your Constitution provides for a Congress. What are its functions?

OLIVER: 1) To approve funds necessary to maintain adequate military forces for protection of the country; 2) to establish the budget for operating the other national government agencies; 3) to act as an agency for declaring war and national emergencies when time permits; 4) to negotiate peace treaties.

REASON: So it would *not* be in the business of *passing laws*, the way the U. S. Congress is doing?

OLIVER: No. Unless what you call a law is that we say that Congress will allow so many dollars to build a certain defensive item.

REASON: How would the legal system come into existence? Would it be a common law system, based on cases decided by judges?

OLIVER: I have asked some people to write an objective code of law and I said that it should be between ten and 40 pages long. If it is more than that, it may be too big. However, I believe that even now we have the basis necessary for establishing an Objectivist-oriented society. There have been some attempts to write objective law and this is still being done.

REASON: So there will be a legal code as an adjunct to the Constitution.

OLIVER: Correct. In addition, though, many things would come from the common law. We are not "throwing out the baby with the bath water." There are some good parts in some laws and I am not saying that people shouldn't refer to some of the cases. But the objective law should be a short statement.

REASON: What you are saying about not throwing everything out is relevant. There are many similarities between your Constitution and the original U. S. Constitution, too many similarities for some libertarians. Of course, you have built in many safeguards which were not present in the U.S. Constitution.

OLIVER: True. Just think of the voluntary financing and the prohibition against Congress to pass laws in the normal sense. Also, the prohibition against

establishing any new agencies such as Interstate Commerce Commission, the S.E.C., the F.D.A., etc., and the complete separation of government and economics, similar to separation of government and church.

REASON: What would you think about forbidding more than one or two terms in office for members of Congress, to prevent the build-up of a vested interest in being in the government?

OLIVER: This is a very good suggestion which should be included. You will note that I have not included an executive branch for government. I proposed a "ready-alert panel," which is to act instantaneously and is required in this nuclear age. Unfortunately, these problems will continue to exist.

REASON: You have included a provision which makes all laws expire at the end of five years. But what does this refer to since Congress doesn't have the power to pass laws in the first place?

OLIVER: Don't forget we might have long-term development contracts for the military. The award of a contract is the type of "law" I am referring to which Congress may pass. But even such "laws" would automatically expire after five years and then be reviewed; and renewed only if necessary. The contracts would be awarded with this stipulation in the first place.

REASON: Would peace treaties also be subject to this review every five years?

OLIVER: A peace treaty, even if unratified after five years, would not automatically mean war, for declaration of war is a function of Congress. But I expect that peace treaties would be reviewed and renewed without trouble, unless there was good cause.

REASON: Why did you suggest a simple majority rather than a two-thirds or three-quarters majority of Congress to pass laws? Isn't a broader support than simple majority necessary?

OLIVER: The functions of government are to be very limited. If everything is done on the basis of a two-thirds majority, we may completely cripple government from doing even that which we have allowed it to do.

REASON: What is to prevent people from trying to amend the constitution in terms of *anti*-libertarian philosophy?

OLIVER: There is no guarantee. I am not promising utopia.

REASON: It ultimately boils down to the quality and values of the majority making up a community.

OLIVER: Ultimately, if the intellectuals in a community accept totalitarian values, the community will end up with a totalitarian government. But, if we start out with the right type of people and the right type of philosophy, we may create a better society for a fairly long time. This is presently impossible in the United States; and, because of this impossibility, I want to establish a new country altogether.

REASON: Speaking of "starting out with the right people," according to your book, unlimited immigration will not be permitted, but each person would be considered on an individual basis regarding entry into the country. Doesn't this type of provision make the new country virtually a proprietary community?

OLIVER: There have been many definitions for the term "proprietary community." The definition associated with the book, *THE ART OF COMMUNITY*, is not acceptable to me.

REASON: Why is that?

OLIVER: I will not take anything out of context. There are several statements in that book that the owner of land is to be the person who provides the leadership of the community and is to be the arbitrator of disputes. He is even to set the moral tone of the community. He also leads in social programs for the betterment of all. These are completely collectivist statements. When you take away the sugar-coating you can see that the owner of the land would not just be a proprietor but also the judge, the jury, and enforcer. I am not making derogatory remarks against the author of the book, but am merely addressing myself to its contents. That any libertarian should even consider it, is appalling.

It is a book for the Dark Ages, leading back to the manorial state. There are many references to that. There are also comparisons to the tribal chiefs of Africa. The author stated that those who are not good tribal chiefs don't have too many followers. Therefore, we are to expect that bad proprietors would not have too many tenants. Let us take a good look at it. The fact is that, very often, the most successful tribal chiefs in Africa were also the most successful cannibals and plunderers. Genghis Khan was most successful too. To state that the better you are the more successful you are likely to be in attracting followers or tenants in a system where the landlord is the boss, is ridiculous. When it comes right down to it, the Soviet Union is a proprietary community.

REASON: Well, you only have one owner of land there . . .

OLIVER: Yes. And also the owner of the land provides the moral tone of society, and controls the lives of the people.

REASON: But there is one thing that is *not* present in the Soviet Union or in any of the African tribes, and that is the *contractual* relationship between the land owner and the tenants, where the people are free to come and go. Certainly, in the Soviet Union, the people are not free to come and go.

OLIVER: In the proprietary community we are talking about, there is to be the contractual relationship; but there remains one question: Who is to interpret the contract in case of dispute? Are you aware that Stalin's Constitution of 1935 guaranteed freedom of press? The only problem was that all the presses belonged to the state.

REASON: That's a very good point.

OLIVER: Let's take the case where the landlord also acts as the arbitrator. Supposing a landlord or his son has raped one of the tenants; where is she going to go? There are going to be such landlords. There have been cases such as I just described.

REASON: So what you are saying is that we need a division of power?

OLIVER: Sure. And you don't have that in the type of proprietary community which was proposed in that book. This is what I mean by libertarians "throwing away the baby with the bath water." I would much rather stay in the U. S. than go to such a community, for the U. S. is infinitely better.

REASON: Do you think that if a libertarian proprietary community was set up it would degenerate into an authoritarian situation?

OLIVER: It would be all right to have a proprietary community within the United States, because as bad as the government is here, you can still run to the government and complain against the landlord. Therefore, it is all right to have private police in a hotel or various private mobile home parks, etc., since the interpreter of any contract is an outside agency and not the landlord.

REASON: In other words, you wouldn't mind having a proprietary community set up within a new country governed by your Constitution?

OLIVER: Correct. But if the land owner breaks his contract, he can be taken to court, where he will *not* be the judge, jury, and executioner. One could argue that even in a proprietary community where the landlord is also the judge and jury, it would be in his best interest not to be nasty. But I can say that it was not in the best interest of Hitler to be nasty either.

According to page 66 to *THE ART OF COMMUNITY*, under unified ownership (as noted previously in the book) the private interest of the tenants is reconciled in the interest of the common landlord. The author states that this is the basis of the third function of land, designated as leadership. Further, that by virtue of the unified ownership, management can act as a catalyst to promote social action in all kinds of joint enterprises such as economics, recreation, arts, and civics. This is to be accomplished by the sponsorship and guidance of tenants associations, which can serve specific community functions and, in the process, foster communications and high morale of the community. The author states that leadership includes arbitration of differences among the tenants, as well as guidance and participation in joint efforts. Moreover, the author asserts that more than in any other area, the *art* in the art of community consists in this aspect of the manager role, for here is his least tangible or measurable but potentially most rewarding role.

In the next paragraph, the author states that while tenant selection, land planning, and *leadership* (emphasis added) together constitute the real estate function and are therefore the direct responsibility of the landlord *alone* (emphasis added), this is not to say that his role goes no further.

Now, supposing that, instead of the word "landlord," the word "government" is used. I am certain that if such a proposal, using the word "government" rather than "landlord," was forwarded to libertarians, they would think it absurd. Trust government with the promotion of social actions of all sorts, including economics, recreation, arts, and civics? Have government sponsor and guide tenants' associations and in the process, foster communications and high morale of the community? Never. But if a private party assumes all the functions of government, plus ownership of the land, where is the difference? What is in a name? Are we interested in mere semantics?

REASON: What if someone in the new country governed by your Constitution wished to set up a proprietary community with a contractual relationship specifying that there was no appeal to any outside courts. Of course, people would be free to sign or not to sign such a contract. Presuming such people would not be "participants" and would not pay for your government, would there by any objections?

OLIVER: Only to this extent: a person could sell *only himself* as a slave, which is exactly what he would do under such a contract with a proprietor. One of my friends asked me—doesn't a person have a right to sell himself as a slave? He agreed with me that in a proprietary community such as we are talking about there would be a master-slave relationship. I said, yes he could do so. But the moment the person has a child the whole thing is out the window. He can't transfer his slavehood to his child.

REASON: Very good point. But those who are for proprietary communities will say that, if things get bad, the tenants are always free to leave.

OLIVER: Are they? Consider this: a)supposing I built a large hotel on leased land in a proprietary community. Supposing, further, that after I have done this, the proprietor changes the rules, making my operation difficult if not impossible. Should I leave that place, the hotel will become the property of the proprietor. Remember, he is the only arbitrator and can make things difficult at his whim. He may even do so *precisely* because he wants an excuse to grab the property. I am not just making conjectures. Look at what happened at some of the free ports. One can say that such action wouldn't be in the best interest of the landlord, but when have people *always* acted in their best self-interest? When you give someone too much power, you leave yourself open to such a situation. Even if the original landlord may be all right, his successor may change the rules, as is often the case; b) in a proprietary community such as we are discussing, there is no protection against a complete police state. We could have a physical or economic "Berlin Wall," preventing persons from getting out, especially the second generation.

REASON: You have had considerable experience in dealing with various governments in the last four years, searching for a place to start a country. Could you describe some of the problems you encountered?

OLIVER: Most of the time things didn't work out because of philosophical problems, not necessarily because the government officials were all completely evil. There have been cases where government officials have been turned around to think our way but other politicians and the press would be against us if matters progressed in our favor.

REASON: Roughly, can you state how many miles and manhours have been spent on this venture?

OLIVER: We have devoted at least 15,000 manhours, and at least 250,000 miles have been travelled on behalf of this project.

REASON: How many countries have you visited for this purpose?

OLIVER: My passport shows at least 20 countries in South America, Central America, the Caribbean, Europe, and the South Pacific. We also had people in Africa.

REASON: What makes it so difficult to convince governments to give you some land for your experiment?

OLIVER: If you deal with a totalitarian country, it is possible to make a deal with one person. But if that person changes his mind, you can lose everything. If you negotiate with a democracy, the initial problem is harder since the legislature must approve the transaction; and by the time you get through, you are an old man. On several occasions we could have obtained a freeport, such as exists in the Bahamas, and this type of an option is still open to us. But, this would not be satisfactory to us, as the government granting the freeport would retain too much power to negate the agreement. This has already happened in Freeport, Grand Bahama.

REASON: Even where the territory in question is totally undeveloped waste land, government is still reluctant to give up control?

OLIVER: Yes. Sometimes the reason is legitimate, for they are concerned that the area they give up may be used as a staging place for revolutions or for heroin processing. But, even without these drawbacks they are reluctant to give up control, because they want the power to take it back if it becomes something good.

REASON: They want to be parasitic?

OLIVER: They have done it over and over again. They have done it in the Caribbean and in the Mediterranean and even in the Pacific.

REASON: How do you approach governments when you ask for land for your project?

OLIVER: We ask: "Do you have an economic problem? If so, the situation can be improved and your joblessness rate can be reduced if you will provide us with certain conditions (which happen to be free enterprise conditions) in an area of your country. If you would do this, then a lot of money would be invested in that area and your economic problems would be greatly alleviated." Thus, we give them a practical solution which is ideologically well-based, since the practical and ideological solutions are in harmony when we have free enterprise.

In some cases, they offer conditions which may be good for awhile, but we don't accept them, because we can see how rules have been changed and investments have been wiped out. We want to protect

ourselves better. For this reason, we had to talk to many governments and we are not jumping into situations which could be devastating. Yet, I wonder what would have happened if four or five thousand libertarians who knew the score had gone to the Bahamas. I doubt if the Bahamian Government could have destroyed the freeport there. Our project *is* sound, because in the worst case we could always fall back on a freeport settlement. But, we want to protect ourselves better from the very start, if at all possible.

I would like to mention also another country where the situation is such that, not just economic benefits would be derived by the country from our settlement there but, actually, failure to have such a settlement would jeopardize the very existence of that country. It is a situation wherein they either give us part of the loaf, or someone else will take away everything from them.

REASON: You are working on this area now for your new country project?

OLIVER: Yes, it's a large area, where millions of people could be placed. We told them this: "Your very existence is now in jeopardy, as you know and we know. You also know that people came to the United States when it provided more free enterprise conditions. Now that the U. S. is becoming more totalitarian, many of the people are looking for other places. Such has been the case since the beginning of history. Therefore, if you want these people in your region, so that they will make a bastion of Western civilization there and prevent you from being destroyed, you must provide free enterprise conditions; for without such incentives they will not go. They will not go there under *your* rules, because your rules are too similar to what we already have in the U. S.. In some cases your rules are even worse."

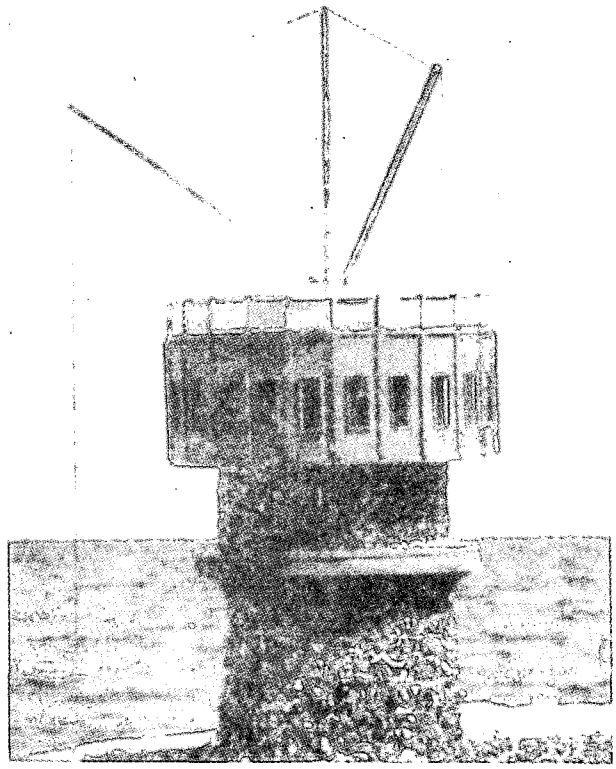
REASON: So in this particular case, you have a very good pitch indeed.

OLIVER: True. And I am becoming more confident that they will come around. Originally, we received a flat "No." Now they say, "Maybe" and, "Can you rewrite your proposal to make it somewhat less severe?" We have come to that point, and I believe that we can negotiate an acceptable agreement.

REASON: How long have you been in negotiations with this particular country?

OLIVER: Over two years. But I have been thinking about it longer than that.

REASON: Do you think that next year something may break on this?



Model of control station planned for construction on South Minerva.

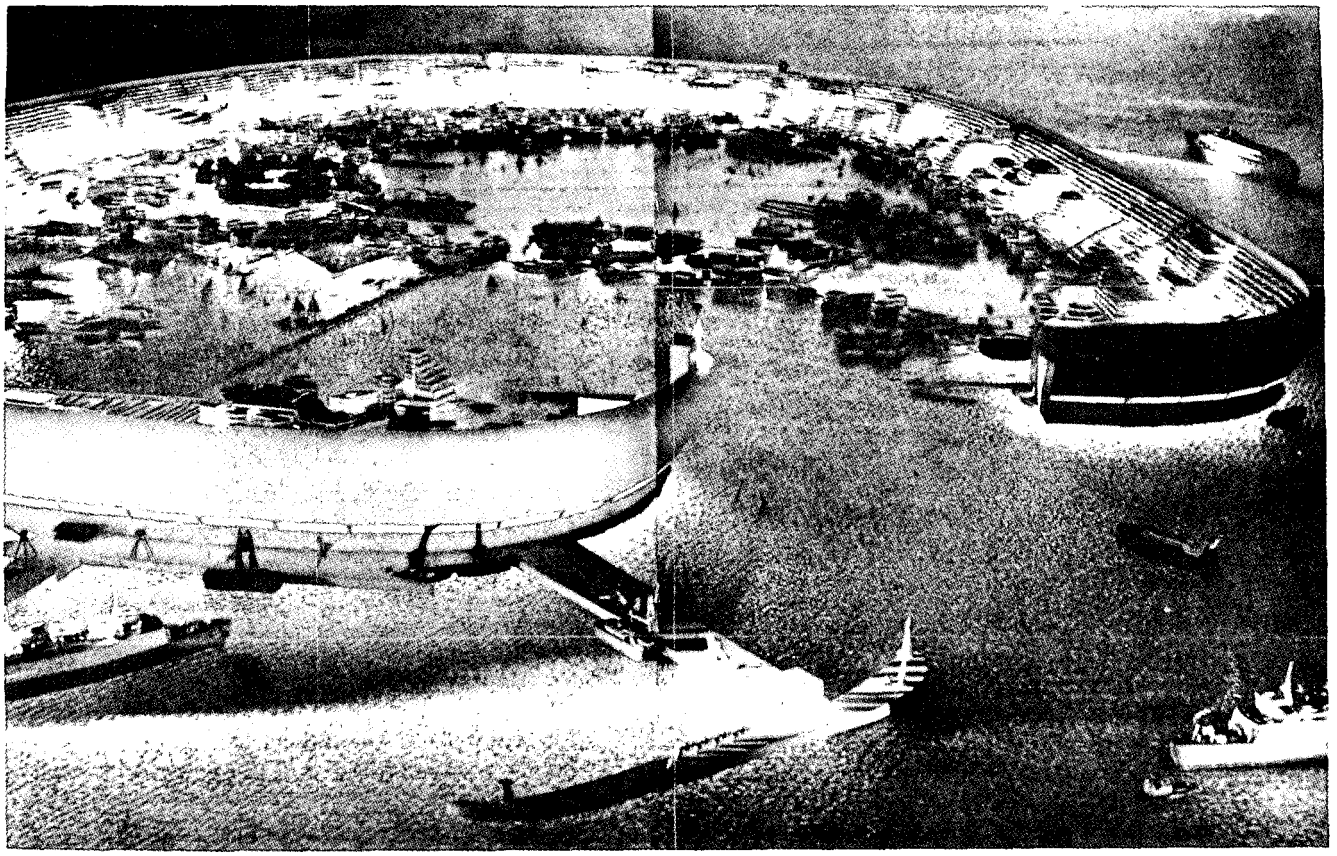
OLIVER: Possibly. I am inclined to think that it may take one or two years, because we have to set up meetings with various officials well ahead of time and it is a slow process.

REASON: OK. Let's move on now to discuss the Minerva project. What do you project the population of Minerva to be?

OLIVER: This is difficult to answer. The Pilkington Glass Company sea city design was for 30,000 people. Richard King and I talked with the engineers and architects who designed the Pilkington Model and they prepared a report for us. This project could cost hundreds of millions of dollars. There are technical problems, involving breakwaters, which could be limiting factors in terms of the population of Minerva.

REASON: You called the Pilkington design a "sea city." Could you explain this term?

OLIVER: Venice, which was started over 1500 years ago, actually is a sea city. The Pilkington Sea City Model was designed for a city to be built in 360 degrees of water in a shallow area. It is offered as a solution to increasing population and increasing land cost. The Pilkington Sea City would be constructed on pilings, although there would be floating units inside the artificially created lagoon. We have also



Sea City design by Pilkington engineers, under consideration for Minerva. Population would be 32,000 people.

received designs from Italian and Japanese engineers. The Pilkington model looks more attractive but is not necessarily the most viable. But there is a problem with wave action for this sort of a design. Incidentally, a coral reef, such as we have in Minerva would greatly reduce this problem.

REASON: Would you build this sort of structure instead of dredging?

OLIVER: Both of these methods can be used.

REASON: What about hurricanes?

OLIVER: We could expect them from time to time. Everything will be designed with that in mind.

REASON: Does the engineer's report you have obtained cover this?

OLIVER: Yes, but not to the extent we hoped for. However, we already knew that we might have to build sea walls and pile the dredge material behind them.

REASON: How about earthquakes?

OLIVER: We know that the terrain around Minerva has not changed much since 1887.

REASON: Do you have engineering personnel working with you on a regular schedule or is your engineering work contracted?

OLIVER: We have them contracted from time to time.

REASON: Are there other engineering problems?

OLIVER: Someone has asked me about tsunamis, which are large tidal waves caused by earthquakes. Tsunamis require terrain to build up in different from what we have at Minerva. However, we have to protect ourselves against large waves created by hurricanes.

REASON: In a location like Minerva's, don't you have logistics problems?

OLIVER: Minerva is between Fiji and New Zealand. Both of these areas are fairly well developed. Remember that even the New Hebrides import food. They wouldn't have to do it if they used their resources, since the land is extremely fertile. We are closer to New Zealand than the New Hebrides.

REASON: Have any companies expressed interest in Minerva?

OLIVER: Yes. Many people have written and requested information on how to invest. But unless someone comes to Carson City, Nevada, without my solicitation, I will not talk with him about it. It would be against S.E.C. regulations to do otherwise. As long as I am in the United States, I have to abide by its rules. Also, unless the person is of the type which could be considered a sophisticated investor, I wouldn't talk to him about it even if he came to Carson City.

REASON: Can you mention the types of businesses that have expressed interest in your project?

OLIVER: One of the persons who is a trustee of Ocean Life Research Foundation is chairman of a bank as well as of a sizable machine factory. Another trustee of our Foundation is president of a bank and trust company.

REASON: Have you had any studies as to what would be the most economically feasible types of business to locate in Minerva?

OLIVER: We could have bunkering facilities for shipping, assembly plants for light industry, banking, company headquarters, fishing, and tourism, among other things. We could also have hydroponic farming. Our new Venice could be better than the original Venice because we have better technology.

REASON: It could be a center for a new renaissance, attracting intelligent, creative people.

OLIVER: Historically, we have seen that where you have good commerce, you will also find real intellectuals, artists, and musicians, etc.

REASON: A number of people have asked about Minerva's policy regarding the production of addictive drugs.

OLIVER: We cannot tell people what to do with their *own* lives. But when we sell the land, we can put in restrictive covenants specifying that such things as heroin or opium could not be produced on that land.

REASON: What is the reason for this?

OLIVER: If production of drugs was permitted, we would invite a war and the company would lose its land. We look at it this way: 1) The company has its right to protect its own property; 2) the company may sell the land with any restrictive covenants attached thereon. If the buyer finds this objectionable, he does not have to buy the land. For similar reasons, the company wouldn't permit the area to be used as a staging ground for revolution against other countries.

REASON: We understand you are having problems with Tonga?

OLIVER: Several months after we claimed Minerva, the King of Tonga went there with a group of prisoners. They built up something there, too, and left thereafter. We had just completed an engineering survey and didn't have anyone at the Reef at that instant. But I think the Tonga problem can be resolved.

REASON: Can you give us information about the other people who are working with you on the Minerva project?

OLIVER: A lot of the material was compiled by Richard King, Vice-President of Minerva, who is now in London. M. C. Davis is the President of the Republic of Minerva. He is an electronics engineer but is now devoting his time to the Minerva Project. He has just returned from the South Pacific where he and Robert Marks purchased the ship for our project. Robert Marks is the owner of a lumber yard. Thurlow Weed, a petroleum engineer, was, with Bob Marks, on the original expedition. I must add that none of these people, including myself is receiving any salary. I would like to give credit to all these people, for they have been very dedicated. Of course, we had other people, who helped us from time to time with financing, as well as effort. Dr. Harry Schultz, the noted author and investment advisor, has been a very helpful supporter of our efforts.

REASON: Your book stated that there will be no embassy and no equivalent to our form of State Department. Will there be passports?

OLIVER: When you travel from one country to another, you need a passport. We don't want to penalize those who come to our new country by making it impossible for them to travel elsewhere. Thus, we have to set up a passport issuing agency. But this can be done without setting up the sort of state department we know of. We also have a problem with postal communications. Unless we have some government sanctions for this, we would have a communications problem. Therefore, we will have an official statement from the government saying that certain agencies may act on behalf of the government on postal communication matters.

REASON: You have to join the International Postal Union.

OLIVER: That's right. Without the above provisions, we couldn't go anywhere and we couldn't get any mail.

REASON: That says something about the practicability of anarchism in today's world.

"The actual implementation of a free enterprise nation is far more complicated than it appears at first blush."

OLIVER: The existence of other governments makes our government have to do certain things that otherwise would not be done. However, this should not serve as an excuse for establishing another collectivist state. All these matters can be easily worked out completely within the context of free enterprise.

REASON: What is government's functions in relation to persons who may carry communicable diseases such as typhoid or smallpox? Can the government intervene through quarantine requirements or vaccination?

OLIVER: Bringing in typhoid constitutes an act of force, because it can be deadly to another person. Although an act of force can be done involuntarily, like in an automobile accident, the person who is causing it cannot be absolved from responsibility.

REASON: The responsible person is still liable.

OLIVER: Yes. And this would require that such a person should be quarantined and vaccinated if he could cause disease to other persons. This is being done quite properly in modern society, not only with people but also with animals. We also have agricultural inspections. There is nothing wrong with this. It is a long haul from such activities to welfare programs and other destructive government activities.

REASON: But the actual implementation of a free enterprise nation is far more complicated than it appears at first blush?

OLIVER: It certainly is; and it is at this point that some libertarians come up with all sorts of crazy ideas. The danger lies in the fact that if people see that such ideas don't work, they will grab the first man on a white horse and will help establish a distatorship worse than the one they had in the past. It is for this reason that I coined the phrase, "Some Libertarians seem to be notorious for helping destroy bad governments only to have them replaced with worse ones."

REASON: Quarantines require a lot of specialized knowledge and, therefore, specialized people in the government.

OLIVER: The specialists will not be members of the government. They can be hired on a contract basis to perform particular tasks.

REASON: Are there other functions than Minerva with which Ocean Life Research Foundation is concerned?

OLIVER: Yes. This Foundation wants to find out how to establish communities which are sea-oriented, because there is not much land left. We may discover how to use raw material from the sea for development of sea cities. In order to have successful communities, we need a sound economic base. We already have established that the political system must be of a free enterprise nature. We will take into consideration smog and pollution problems, as well as ecology. All this falls under the realm of protecting individual rights.

REASON: How can people help you in your work?

OLIVER: People who wish to help, without expecting a financial return, can contribute to the Ocean Life Research Foundation which is a "non-profit" foundation. We also have a company in which only sophisticated investors could invest, but this information cannot be made available here. I would like to add that we are in a fairly good financial position.

REASON: Do you have sufficient funds to proceed?

OLIVER: Yes. But we could use a lot more.

REASON: How do you view your work as a new-country builder?

OLIVER: I view my own Constitution as an extension of Benjamin Franklin's works. He really knew what he was doing. Had his concepts been approved more fully, there would not have been any slavery or Civil War. I am not claiming that my Constitution is perfect, or that Benjamin Franklin's work, even if greatly improved in concept as well as mechanics, would be perfect. But, I want to state here that libertarians sometimes get too anxious and they want perfection right away, or else they turn right around and grab Mao Tse Tung or something of this nature as an alternative; or they propose "anarcho-capitalism" which, when broken down to practical applications, would establish a dictatorship under the name of a "private company." (It seems that if a government, even if tyrannical in concept, is called "private company," many libertarians will approve of it.)

We are convinced that we are moving in the right direction. We are not merely overly cautious, and certainly we are not lacking in adventurous spirit, but we don't want to accept any so-called solutions which have been presented to us as something new, but which are in fact nothing less than reversion to chaos and dictatorship. ◻

HOME IS THE OCEAN

WILL BARKLEY

Will Barkley is founder of Oceanus Company in San Jose, CA. He was educated at Fresno (Calif) City College and the University of Houston. He is a certified scuba diver and belongs to the Marine Technology Society and United Inventors and Scientists of America. Currently he is on contract to FMC Corp., Ocean Engineering Group.

"Home is the Ocean" is the Oceanus Company slogan. It is a simple slogan with a simple concept behind it—oceanic settlement. As a libertarian I look to oceanic settlement as the best means of achieving three important goals: a) I want to be where I can live and practice libertarian principles with reasonable safety from man and nature while earning my living in the company of people with similar principles. b) I want to do this while enjoying the best that science and technology have to offer. c) I want to begin this new life style as soon as possible, preferably tomorrow morning. As an inventor I offer my plans and concepts to libertarians as a practical method of creating ocean-based enclaves of freedom or, if you will, libertarian sovereignties.

I believe that oceanic settlers will be the scientific and technological leaders of the world a few years hence. The environment demands excellence. Oceanic settlers will lead in robotics for the simple reason that exploitation of oceanic resources is a perfect area for the development and utilization of robots. Ocean-based freeports are ideal for laissez-faire manufacturing and trading societies because the ocean is the road to every port in the world and the primary means of shipping goods between nations. However, the advantages of strategic placement will in no way guarantee the success of oceanic communities. It will also take proper tools and disciplined imagination.

ALTERNATIVES TO OCEANIC SETTLEMENT

Before we get too far into oceanic settlement, I think it would be appropriate briefly to review the alternatives for creating a laissez-faire society.

To my way of thinking, libertarians form a class similar to the Jews prior to the creation of Israel in 1948. We are few in number, scattered, relatively disorganized, share a common "religion," and we are a *landless* people. To survive we must form efficient, cooperative organizations for the purpose of creating one or more (preferably many) libertarian societies.

PATHS TO A FREE SOCIETY

In the June 1971 issue of *REASON*, Robert Poole listed three possible paths toward the construction of a free society[1]:

1) violent overthrow of the government followed by the construction from scratch of a free society,

2) nonviolent noncooperation and withdrawal of support, leading to a collapse of the government, followed by construction from scratch of a free society, and

3) evolutionary change from our present government to a progressively more limited government, culminating in full laissez-faire.

I would like to add two other alternatives:

4) try to convince an existing sovereignty to grant land for a libertarian system[2], and

5) start from scratch and build a libertarian society in a territory where no system, relatively speaking, now exists.

As Mr. Poole stated in his article:

> The first path is clearly unacceptable by any sort of criterion of justice toward innocent bystanders (who typically bear the brunt of revolutionary violence). Furthermore, the chances of libertarians being listened to in the chaos following revolution are slim. The second alternative is nearly as bad as the first, in terms of both

harming innocent people and providing little likelihood of libertarian ideas holding sway "after."

From my point of view method number 3 has such a small chance of succeeding that I would not want to plan my life around it, even though I have bet some money on it ($12 to the Libertarian Party). With one out of every six American wage-earners now on some sort of government payroll, socialism and the welfare state as firmly entrenched ideals, and a governmental fiscal policy that fuels inflation, I think there will be an economic collapse or worse long before any sort of evolutionary libertarian efforts would have any noticeable effect.

Method 4 worked for Israel in a manner of speaking. However, I can't imagine the United States, Russia, China, Japan, or any other world power forcing an existing nation or nations to move over and let some libertarians have some room. Likewise, I don't think the odds are very great in favor of getting some sovereignty to voluntarily grant some of its land for a laissez-faire system *[Cf. the interview with Mike Oliver in this issue—Ed.]*.

If we want to be able to begin now, depending on our own efforts and not hoping or waiting for somebody else to sell or give us the space we require, then we are left with method 5. This means, in effect, settle the ocean. While we are forced by circumstances to accept a new and hostile environment, this can prove to be a blessing if we have the right attitude.

APPROACHES TO OCEANIC SETTLEMENT

There are several ways to approach oceanic settlement. One is to build massive floating or piling-supported cities on the surface. Another is to build bubble cities on the ocean floor. A third approach (Oceanus' approach) is to build individual homes, on the surface or submerged, that can be linked together by cooperative individuals to form oceanic communities, either highly mobile or semi-stationary.

MASSIVE FLOATING CITY

The best description of a massive floating city concept was given in *THE SAN MATEO TIMES* for 25 March 1972[3]:

> The world's first floating city, technologically possible and ecologically healthy, may be rising from the Pacific if a leading ocean authority can get his proposal moving.
>
> Dr. John P. Craven, Dean of Marine Programs at the University of Hawaii and Hawaii's first State Marine Affairs Coordinator, is hoping to build such a city three miles off the famed Diamond Head landmark.
>
> Craven's circular floating city would be built upon platforms in the ocean buoyed by modules, with a module consisting of three underwater flotation cylinders. Huge columns would extend deep into the water, the site of underwater industrial and manufacturing activity, but would not be attached to the ocean floor. Floating cities of this type require at least a 300-foot water depth. Families would live in slices in cylindrical towers above the platform.

SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT VS. LIBERTARIAN COMMUNITY

In my opinion a floating city such as Craven envisions would be a highly successful and beautiful suburban development of an existing coastal city, which is exactly what he proposes. However, I see several reasons why a floating city such as this would not be right for a fledgling oceanic community.

1) A floating "city," a la Craven, would work as a suburban development because the developers would have records of industrial and population growth on which to base reliable predictions for future requirements. A libertarian community in the middle of the ocean would have no record at all.

2) The smallest and most adaptable structural units possible should be utilized for homes and industry in a fledgling ocean based community. In this manner the physical facilities of a large or small community could be had at the lowest cost and risk during the hectic years of initial development.

3) Rather than designing slices in cylindrical towers for family residences I think we would do better to design residences to exalt the individual and individuality. Instead of trying to achieve higher and higher population densities we should be trying to attain lower densities with as much space and natural beauty around a home as possible.

BUBBLE CITY

The cost of a bubble city on the ocean floor would be even greater than that of a monolithic floating city. A city or dwelling located on the bottom must be either tremendously strong to withstand the pressures at depth or else the inside of the structure must be pressurized, which cuts off free and easy access to the surface world. This is no way to raise a family. (I assume that any libertarian community would be located beyond the continental shelf and therefore in relatively deep water, say 1000 to 1500 feet.)

INVERTED VIEW

It is important to be able to invert one's physical viewpoint when considering ocean living. On land we live on the surface along with the plants and animals on which we ultimately depend for our survival. When we move to the ocean we must live *beneath* the surface in order to remain in the zone of maximum biological activity. On the ocean's surface we view either monotonous unbroken water or person-made structures while just a few feet down we encounter a world of living creatures, varied colors, sunlight and water in ever changing patterns and movement. To my mind, a land dweller who thinks of oceanic living *only* in terms of land living (surface living) is completely analogous to an ocean dweller, say a porpoise, thinking that the only place to live on land is underground.

ADVANTAGES OF OCEANIC LIVING

While there are disadvantages to oceanic living, I don't see them as being worse than some of the disadvantages found on land. With our increased knowledge and tools there certainly aren't any disadvantages comparable to those faced by the families who settled the New World and, later, the American West. There are, however, many advantages to be found in oceanic settlement. Kiyonori Kikutake, a Japanese architect working with Dr. Craven on the Hawaiian floating city concept, expressed one of the primary advantages when he said that the floating state is a healthy state from which to approach the future. It is a soft state, a metabolic state, always changing, capable of responding quickly to the shifting emotional, psychological, and esthetic demands of the human condition.[4]

Some of the more obvious advantages are:

- More than 70% of the earth's surface is water, which we can travel on or through with relative ease.
- Aquaculture, or marine farming, is already more productive than land farming in many cases. For example, the average yearly production of cattle land is 400 pounds per acre while 3000 pounds per acre per year of prawns have been raised.[5]
- Moving heavy objects is not the problem that it is on land. Everything weighs less in water.
- Great pressures are readily available for many industrial uses.
- There are no dangers from tsunamis, forest fires, floods, earthquakes, or landslides.
- Building of roads is not necessary.
- Wave energy is available for conversion to hydraulic or electrical energy.[6]

REQUIREMENTS FOR AN OCEAN COMMUNITY

I see seven basic requirements for a viable ocean community.

In order of importance they are:

1) Shelter for normal and storm conditions;

2) Food;

3) Power for the homes and personal use of the inhabitants; and for

4) Tools, machinery and/or facilities to produce products for

5) Trade;

6) Transportation to move people and products in trade;

7) Security measures to protect the people and all of the above from other men.

After these initial requirements have been satisfied the community will require educational and recreational facilities.

OCEANUS' CONCEPTS

As a potential oceanic settler I am vitally concerned with all of the above. So far I have been able to put together five concepts which would contribute to the solution of these problems. They are:

- The "Oceanus Hull," which can provide a stable ocean platform for homes and businesses (Requirements 1 and 4) as well as fulfill requirements for transportation; (Requirement 6)
- The "ReefHome," which also provides facilities for homes and businesses;
- The "SeaRoom," a small underwater observatory, which falls more into the educational and recreational categories;
- The "SeaWalk," which could best be described as a giant floating waterbed and is also in the recreational field;
- The "ScuBoat," a scuba divers' transportation system which, in an ocean community, would have application in the areas of food production

(Requirement 2), tools and products for trade (Requirements 4 and 5), transportation (Requirement 6), as well as recreation and education.

FOOD PRODUCTION

In the area of food production the oceanic community will utilize hydroponics as never before. Every home would eventually have its own hydroponic room where fresh fruits, nuts, and vegetables would be produced. Perhaps a relatively large "Oceanus Hull" would serve as a suitable feed lot for raising beef fed on processed seaweed or phytoplankton. Artificial reefs, which can be suspended beneath the "ReefHomes" will certainly enhance the supply of fish and plant life.[7] One fish that is a perfect candidate for an ocean based fish farming operation is the dolphin-fish (or mahi mahi). Consider these characteristics[8]:

1) Extremely rapid growth rate: (a) marketable size in 3-4 months, (b) growth rate of 3-5 pounds per month

2) Short time until sexually mature; spawns less than 6 months after hatching

3) Spawns all year long

4) Excellent food fish (wholesale prices, which I personally checked by calling Florida and Hawaii fish markets, vary from 55 cents to $1.10 per pound)

5) Can be farmed on a world-wide basis because it is found naturally in all warm seas (75 degrees F)

POWER PRODUCTION

There will be so many opportunities to solve exciting new problems in the oceanic environment that I'm surprised we don't have designers, inventors, engineers, and other innovators standing on the beach with their suitcases.

For example, in the areas of generating power from wave action and developing deep-water breakwaters, we could solve the problems of providing needed power and shelter from waves as well as create a product for export. Consider the possibility of an oceanic generator/breakwater device which would produce electricity to electrolyze seawater, producing hydrogen and chlorine gases. Both gases have ready markets but with the development of a hydrogen/air engine the market for hydrogen would be astronomical. It is a fuel which could easily displace petroleum products and, most important, is nonpolluting. Aside from my own ideas for an oceanic power generator/breakwater I know of at least one large corporation which is developing a good, economical, deep-water breakwater which could also be utilized to generate power.

"OCEANUS HULL"

The first concept I offer for your consideration is the "Oceanus Hull." The illustrations show the primary features, advantages, and potential applications of this versatile design. The "Oceanus Hull" can provide adaptable and economical platforms for homes and businesses. With it we will be able to travel the world ocean, anchor by any coastal city, or take part in creating an ocean-based libertarian community.

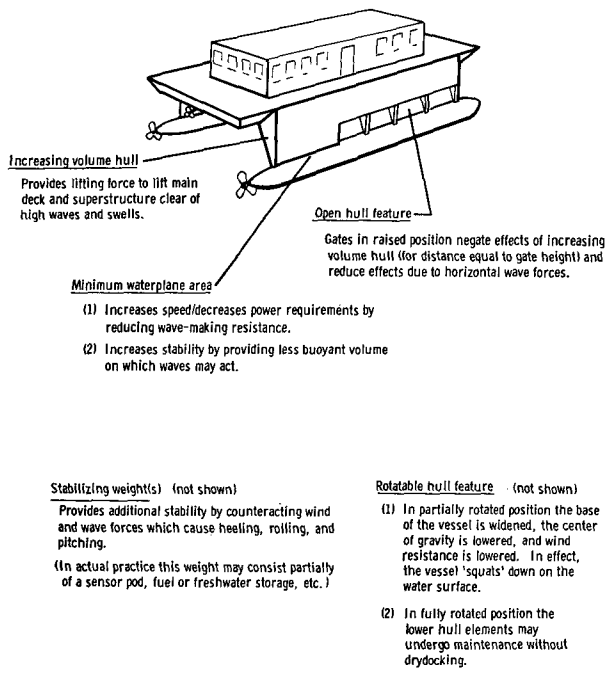
U.S. NAVY DEVELOPING SIMILAR DESIGN

Dr. T.G. Lang of the U.S. Naval Undersea Research and Development Center in San Diego, California, authored an ASME paper [9] on a similar hull design (much optimized and streamlined) which he calls the S^3 or semisubmerged ship. I might add that a semisubmerged ship of roughly the same configuration (1200 metric tons), named Duplus, was built by Netherlands Offshore Company in 1969 as a dredging/drilling rig for use in the North Sea.[10]

"REEFHOME"

My second design for an oceanic home is called the "ReefHome" because of the suspended artificial reef beneath the structure. This structure could also be

Advantages of the Oceanus Hull, designed and patented by Will Barkley.


Increasing volume hull
Provides lifting force to lift main deck and superstructure clear of high waves and swells.
Open hull feature
Gates in raised position negate effects of increasing volume hull (for distance equal to gate height) and reduce effects due to horizontal wave forces.
Minimum waterplane area
(1) Increases speed/decreases power requirements by reducing wave-making resistance.
(2) Increases stability by providing less buoyant volume on which waves may act.
Stabilizing weight(s) (not shown)
Provides additional stability by counteracting wind and wave forces which cause heeling, rolling, and pitching.
(In actual practice this weight may consist partially of a sensor pod, fuel or freshwater storage, etc.)
Rotatable hull feature (not shown)
(1) In partially rotated position the base of the vessel is widened, the center of gravity is lowered, and wind resistance is lowered. In effect, the vessel 'squats' down on the water surface.
(2) In fully rotated position the lower hull elements may undergo maintenance without drydocking.

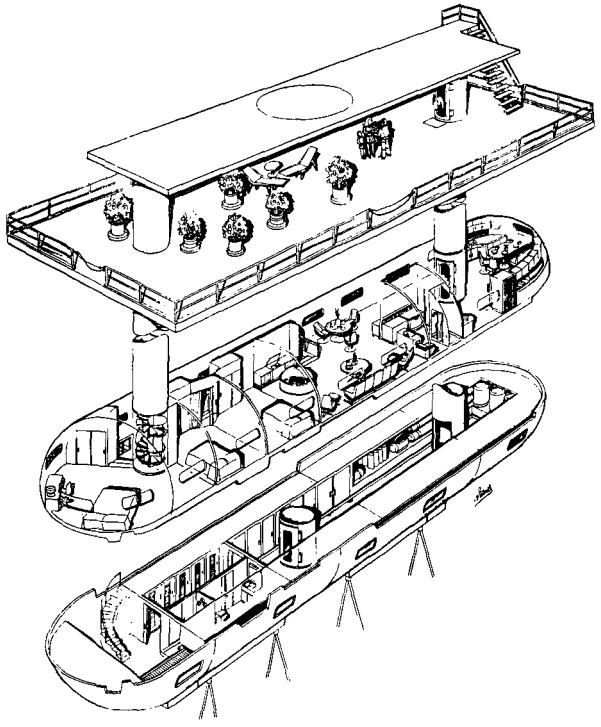
Drawing by Don Varner

used as a school, manufacturing facility, store, town hall, or whatever an individual or community would require. I call it "ReefHome" to emphasize its suitability as a place to live 24 hours a day, 365 days a year while rearing children and carrying out "normal" human activities.

Construction materials for the "ReefHome" can be steel, fiberglass, or concrete. Steel would provide the fastest method of construction initially while fiberglass would be lighter. Concrete, however, would be the most economical and long-lasting. Since the "ReefHome" in its simplest form is just a large diameter section of pipe with a horizontal floor (deck), it would be easy to produce by existing concrete construction methods.[11]

A 20-foot diameter by 100-foot long cylindrical "ReefHome" would provide approximately 2100 square feet of living area. This *does not* include the lower level (actually one-half of the cylinder) or the surface decks. Living in a "ReefHome" would provide all the advantages of subsurface living while allowing free access to the surface world of sunlight, blue sky, conventional gardening, and open-air play. The "ReefHome" with its many acrylic view windows and closeness to the surface and sunlight would provide a feeling of openness, freedom, and communion with nature's underwater world. The artificial reef would enable various forms of sea life to grow in what might otherwise be a barren environment. In fact the reef could be each oceanic settler's "farm," providing plant and animal life for company and consumption even while giving visual stimulation in the underwater home.

Cutaway drawing showing floorplan of 1200-square-foot ReefHome (all but the deck is submerged). (10)



Drawing by Don Varner

"SEAROOM"

The "SeaRoom" is a maximum visibility room which is to be used in shallow water (less than 50 feet). It is submerged and moored by pumping the suspended container full of sand. When the "SeaRoom" is to be moved the sand is pumped out of the fiberglass container and the assembly rises to the surface where it may be towed by a small boat. The 16-foot diameter hemispherical room and access tube are nonpressurized so that no air-locks, compressors, or other expensive equipment is required. Power to the ventilation fan and two-man elevator is basically all that is required to make the "SeaRoom" operable. A clear plastic, open-bottomed cylinder is attached to the underside of the "SeaRoom" for use by scuba divers. The divers' exhalations fill the cylinder with air which forces the water from this "conversation chamber" allowing the divers a place to remove their regulators and talk.

This structure would be more for recreational use or as an oceanographic observation station as it does not provide sufficient room for sustained family living.

"SEAWALK"

The "SeaWalk" (not shown)) will provide large (or small) playgrounds for the children of oceanic settlers and would even be used by the adults as fields for playing such games as "Ocean Football" or "Sea Volleyball." There is certainly a need in the oceanic community for large, low cost, open-air play areas.

"SCUBOAT"

"ScuBoat" is a scuba divers' transportation system which was developed primarily for the sport scuba diving market of 550,000 divers. It is a system which can be broken down into components and accessories so as to provide the diver maximum financial and functional choice in putting together a package for his particular requirements. In an oceanic community it seems logical to assume that almost all residents will be divers and therefore a divers' transportation system should be a useful tool.

"TETHYS"

Utilizing the foregoing designs, I have developed the concept of an oceanic community which I call "Tethys," after the wife of Oceanus, Greek Titan god of the sea. It is possible to build communities such as this at thousands of locations on the world ocean. It

is most practical and economical to build them in relatively shallow areas where the water depth is no more than 1000 feet, such as around reefs or the submerged tops of oceanic mountains. Around a reef such a community would *not* damage marine ecological systems because there would be no need for dredging or filling operations. Whereas a piling supported city or community would probably be built over a reef and would kill the living coral by shading it from the sunlight, a community such as Tethys would be floating around the reef in such a manner that the settlers would be able to enjoy the natural beauty of the reef without destroying it.

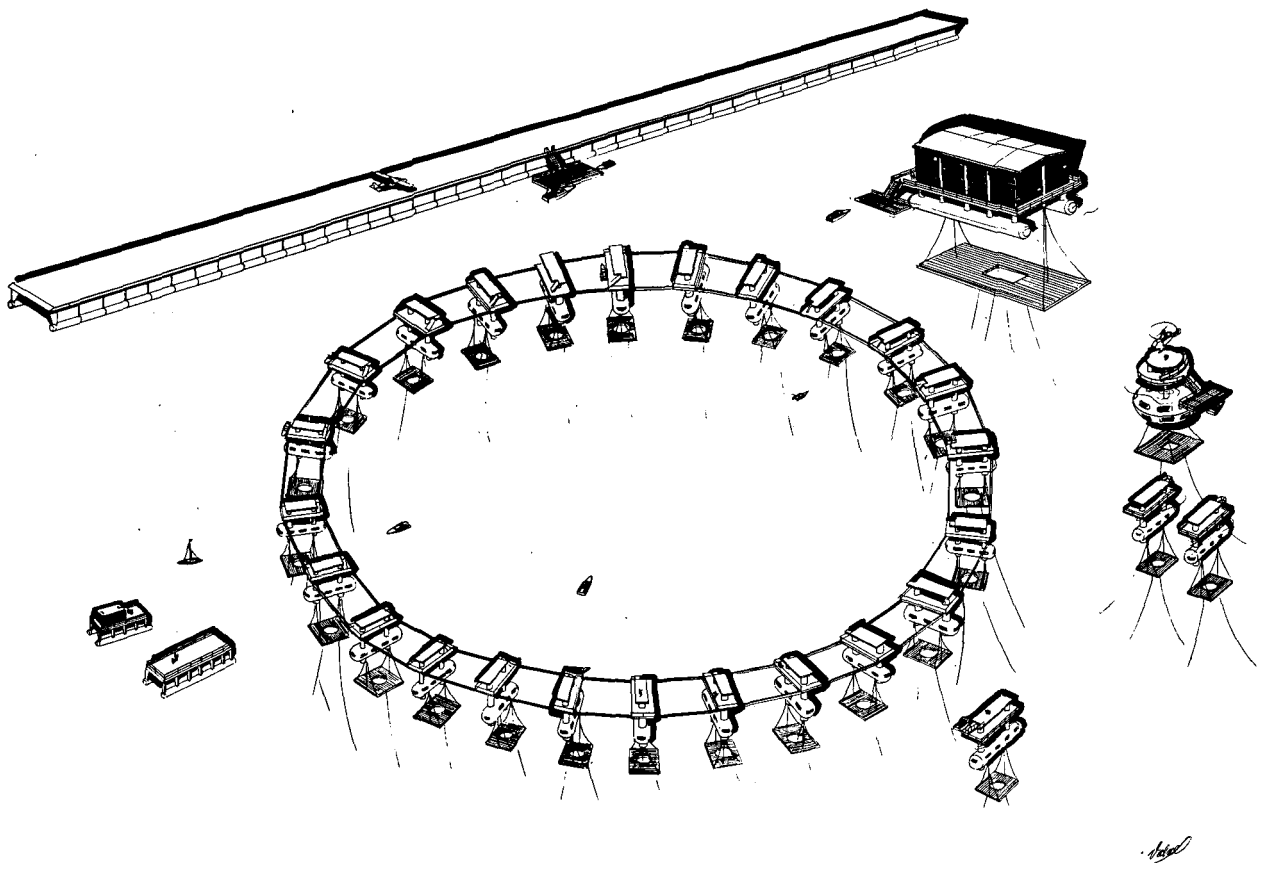
Such a community would truly be a cooperative endeavor where even the physical stability of a person's home would be improved if he linked up with one or more neighbors. Each "ReefHome" or "Oceanus Hull" could link up with any number of other homes to provide close-knit (but separate and private) extremely stable neighborhoods.

Both the "Oceanus Hull" and "ReefHome" concepts can be scaled up to provide structures suitable for any human activity.

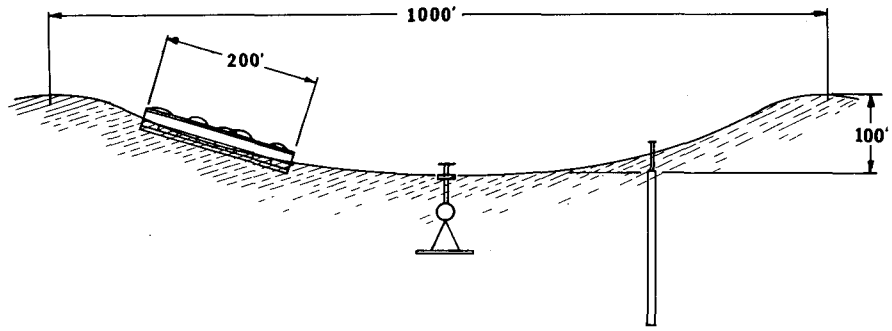
Ocean-based community concept called "Tethys," utilizing Oceanus Company designs.

SAFETY

As land dwellers we must consider earthquakes, tornadoes, floods, landslides, forest fires, brush fires, and hurricanes when looking for a place to live. As ocean dwellers our primary concern in this regard is with high winds blowing for many hours across many miles of open water. Such conditions can produce waves such as the one sketched here. Depicted is a wave cycle with a scale storm wave 100 feet high; an "Oceanus Hull" structure 200 feet long; a "Reef-Home" structure 20 feet in diameter; and a storm shelter 10 feet in diameter by 200 feet long, vertical. In different areas of the ocean, waves of this size may occur often, once every 100 years (100 year storm), or never at all. They are, however, the single most dangerous natural phenomenon that an ocean settler might expect. While propertly designed storm shelters can provide safe, low cost, and relatively comfortable lodging during even the most severe storms, our other structures (both surface and near-surface) can be designed to survive such storms.[12] The offshore petroleum industry would be the best source of engineers and designers to solve these problems since they have been solving them successfully for quite a few years. With structures that "roll with the punches" we should be able to survive nature's more forceful onslaughts without too much financial or physical loss.



Drawing by Don Varner



Drawing by Don Varner

One hundred-foot wave with other structures to scale. From left to right, Oceanus Hull, 20-foot diameter ReefHome, and 10-foot diameter by 200-foot long vertical storm shelter.

During an ocean storm the safest place to be is in the water—the deeper the better. For that reason the "ReefHome" is inherently more safe during a violent storm than an "Oceanus Hull". While the "ReefHome" does not have the mobility of an "Oceanus Hull" it is better suited to stay and take it when Mother Nature gets huffy. In fact it can very easily be designed to submerge completely during storms and in that case it would approach the condition of the storm shelter.

To increase the station-keeping characteristics of the "Oceanus Hull" and its structures, they should be streamlined as much as possible to decrease wind resistance. Dome homes on an "Oceanus Hull" can be built as inflatable or foam units which greatly increases their adaptability and lowers their cost.

Oceanic pioneers will invent many methods of protecting themselves and their property during adverse conditions, but we should remember that the best methods will only be discovered after actual settlement has taken place.

In his book, *THE BOUNTIFUL SEA*, Seabrook Hull states[13]:

> A great exploration or forcing back of frontiers is a synthesis in time of need, and capability catalyzed into being by the insatiable curiosity, limitless imagination, drive, daring, and knowledge of a singular kind of man. This is such a time, and there are such men. [and women]

What about it, libertarians? ◻

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] "Leverage Points for Social Change," Robert Poole, Jr, *REASON*, Vol. 3, No. 3, June 1971.

[2] In "Letter to a King," pp.19-24 of *A CONSTITUTION FOR A MORAL GOVERNMENT* by Jack Anderson and Perry Miles an appeal is made to a king to grant land for a laissez-faire freeport.

[3] A very interesting and much more thorough account of Dr. Craven's proposed city can be found in the 4 December 1971 issue of *SATURDAY REVIEW*, p.80, "Cities on the Sea" by John Lear.

[4] Ibid. p.84.

[5] *OCEANS MAGAZINE*, No. 1, 1972, p.43, "Aquaculture: Problems with the Promise" by Howard Pennington.

[6] A promising concept for generating useful power from ocean (surf) waves is discussed in the March 1970 issue of *OCEAN INDUSTRY*, p.62, "New Concept for Harnessing Ocean Waves."

[7] Artificial reefs in various locations have been improving fish yields for several years. See "Artificial Reef," p.62 of the July 1970 issue of *SKIN DIVER*. Also "How Offshore Platforms Help Fishing," p.64 of the April 1971 issue of *OCEAN INDUSTRY*.

[8] *SEA FRONTIERS* (magazine of the International Oceanographic Foundation), Vol. 17, No. 4, July-August 1971, pp.194-201, "Dolphin Spectacular" by Grant L. Beardsley, Jr.

[9] *AMERICAN SOCIETY OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERS PAPER NO. 71-WA/UNT-1* presented at the Winter annual meeting, Washington, D.C., 28 November-2 December, 1971.

[10] *OCEAN INDUSTRY*, March 1969, p.28, "Duplus—A Catamaran for Severe Seas."

[11] The U.S. Naval Civil Engineering Laboratory (NCEL) at Port Hueneme, California, has conducted and is carrying on exhaustive tests of concrete for marine use. "NCEL considers concrete ideal for the ocean. It is inexpensive, corrosion resistant, reacts well to compression and can be fabricated at thicknesses which provide precise buoyancy control." Quote from *UNDERSEA TECHNOLOGY*, August 1971, p.13, "SEACON Structure Ready for Tests."

[12] *OCEAN INDUSTRY*, January 1969, p.21, gives an account of a semisubmersible offshore drilling rig, SEDCO 135F, taking 92 mph winds and waves of 58 feet with one wave of *95 feet* being taken without any adverse effects!

[13] Seabrook Hull, *THE BOUNTIFUL SEA* (Prentice-Hall, 1964), p.6. I think this is a really good book for anyone who is even the least bit concerned with the ocean.

The Tortuga Freeport Project

Robert H. Meier

During the past few years, news releases have been periodically appearing which have interested a growing number of international businessmen. American entrepreneur Don Pierson has been engaged in developing the Haitian island of Tortuga into a modern freeport with a complete absence of all taxes and traditional economic controls. Intrigued, like many others, I investigated the project and spent a week in Haiti visiting with Mr. Pierson and his staff to find out about their progress. I also took a trip to the island itself where heavy construction is now being undertaken. For the reader who finds the Tortuga freeport project sufficiently interesting to warrant further investigation I have provided addresses at the end of the article to facilitate inquiries.[1],[2] I should like to thank Mr. Pierson and his associates for the cooperation and numerous courtesies shown me.

Robert H. Meier
Port-au-Prince
1 September 1972

Aerial view of Tortuga construction site showing airstrip, roads, living quarters on beach, and construction equipment.

Tortuga lies six miles off the northern coast of Haiti in the Windward Passage. It is only 30 minutes by light plane to the Haitian capital, Port-au-Prince. It is three hours by air from New York, only one from Miami.

The island is 23 miles long and 4½ miles at its widest point giving it an area of approximately 60 square miles. There is a large ridge running the length of the island creating a turtle-like profile for which it was named (after the Spanish word for "turtle") by Columbus. The island is divided into two distinct areas, one half being quite arid, the remainder tending to be lush and tropical. The arid portion is being developed first, as the flatter terrain expedites initial construction efforts, including a new jetport to replace the current runway which handles planes up to the size of a DC-3.

The waters surrounding the island are crystal clear, so that from the air the terrain, beaches, and coral reefs present an impressive sight. The island's environment remains largely undisturbed by the construction and Pierson stressed that a great deal of effort was going into preserving the ecological balance.

There are an estimated 10,000 natives living on the island mainly in small huts on the southern shore. Farming and fishing are the primary livelihoods, but the freeport project offers immense potential for future employment. This labor force has already been used in building the current runway and Pierson intends to employ these people in the future whenever possible.

Aside from the freeport development, the natives have had little contact with the outside world. Pierson is now building a 150-seat elementary school which is due for completion by the end of the year and which will be donated to the island community.

Don Pierson of DuPont Caribbean with Al Celcer, owner of Tortuga Air.

Tortuga has a colorful history. It was an early base for pirate activities in the Caribbean. The term "buccaneer" is said to have originated on the island to refer to the pirates who hid in the island's caves between raids on Spanish ships. More recently it has served as a jumping off point for Haitians trying to smuggle themselves into the Bahamas to find employment.

BACKGROUND

The story of the present freeport development began in England in 1963 when Don Pierson started two offshore radio stations, Radio England and Britain Radio, that broadcast an all-day programming of news, weather and music to the mainland. The stations were well received: the larger advertising accounts included General Motors, Ford, Kent Cigarets and Lever Brothers. In spite of their popularity in England the stations' activities were terminated in 1968 with the passing of the Marine Offences Act which made it illegal to supply, work with, or otherwise aid an offshore radio station—with the threat of criminal penalties for violators.

Anticipating the Marine Offences Act, Pierson mailed inquiries to all the foreign embassies in Washington offering the services of his floating radio stations. Haiti was among the eleven countries replying, although they later turned down the offer.

Shortly after the meetings on the radio stations, the Haitian government began to put out inquiries for a foreign organization that would be interested in developing the island of Tortuga along the freeport concept of the Bahamas. Remembering Pierson's energetic, if unorthdox, approach to business problems, the Haitian ambassador in Washington called on him for advice. From this encounter came the first negotiations between Haiti and Pierson in December of 1967.

Dupont Caribbean Inc. was founded by Pierson to develop the island and in December of 1970 a unique convention between Haiti and the corporation was signed creating a freeport economy on the island of Tortuga for a 99 year period. The government of Haiti received an interest in the corporation for their concessions.

Specifically, the convention creates a freeport authority to be controlled by Dupont Caribbean. The authority in turn will completely control the economic life of the island and have the sole power to grant licenses for operations on Tortuga, start corporations, or issue permits of various types. According to the convention, however, the island itself will be completely tax-free. Absent will be such common economic burdens as corporate, personal income, capital gains, sales, excise, ad valorem, social security, property, import, export, and special levy taxes.

INDIVIDUAL LICENSES

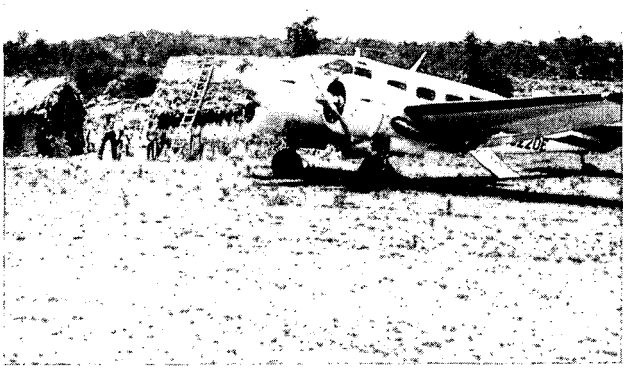
Considering the immense potential advantages of conducting business on the island, I asked Pierson and George R. Todd, a management consultant working on the project, about the costs involved in actually setting up a small business there. They were reluctant to state specific figures since each licensing request is subject to individual negotiation but they did offer the following figures as a rough sort of guideline, stressing that they could significantly change at any time. For an individual architect or engineer the initial licensing fee would probably be "in the neighborhood of" $1000 for a license of "average"

duration. Most licenses of this type will tentatively run from three to ten years. Beyond this fee the licensee would pay the freeport authority a flat 5% of their gross income per year. Such a fee would provide additional operating revenue for Dupont Caribbean. Beyond these two figures a company or individual would only encounter his normal business expenses such as raw materials, wages, and the like.

There is a large range in the types of licenses available including the free-market provision of various "municipal" services, although it would seem that the number of organizations that could be incorporated for tax purposes would be essentially unlimited. There are about 200 licenses now available and Pierson reports that the response has been great. Every effort is being made to insure the integrity of those allowed into the economic environment of the island.

LEASEHOLD LAND

In addition to the freeport authority, Dupont Caribbean received 99-year leasehold rights to approximately 75% of the island with the right of reassignment. The remaining 25% is reserved as the property of the native inhabitants. Free access to all the beach areas is being preserved for everyone on the island. The extensive block of leasehold land, about 45 square miles, was released to the company in November 1971. It is from this land that assignments will take place for construction of offices, factories, banks, resorts and other projects.



Tortuga Airport and Beech 18 owned by Tortuga Air.

Supplies on the beach at the Tortuga construction site.

FINANCIAL NEWS

As examples of the interest being generated in the project Pierson cited several recent developments. He said that he had received a "staggering sum" from one corporation for a letter of intent that will allow the company to use about 1,200 acres of land to build a 50-100 million dollar petrochemical plant on Tortuga. In addition, an offer has been received from Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc., to place some 3 million dollars in debt securities for additional financing contingent upon Dupont Caribbean's consenting to have a public stock offering within 15 months. Pierson indicated no final decision on the matter but he did mention an increasing demand for a public stock offering. The convention with Haiti requires that stock be offered on the international markets at an indeterminate future date, but no decision has yet been reached on when that will be.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

The first major assignment of leasehold land was made in April 1971, allocating a portion of the western tip of the island to Translinear Inc., a Texas development firm. After mapping and other preparatory work was done, this section of the island entered the operational stage in August. The construction work for the Translinear project is being carried out by Indian River Construction Company of Jacksonville, Florida, and every effort is being made to employ local native labor.

On 4 August 1972 the first shipment of heavy equipment was unloaded on the island—house trailers, tractors, graders, well-digging rigs, and similar equipment are in use. Among the priority projects are a hotel/restaurant to house investors and company officials visiting the island. This will later be enlarged to serve tourists. A primary road system and improvements on the 4,000 foot landing strip also have high priority.

Even though the island is still in the early stages of development an airline has already been established. Called Tortuga Air, it is owned and operated by Al Celcer. The airline is currently flying heavy-duty twin engine planes and a helicopter which was shipped in with the first load of heavy equipment and assembled on the island. Tortuga Air is currently awaiting the arrival of a new jet helicopter. Access by airline has greatly facilitated communication between the island and Port-au-Prince where Dupont Caribbean has its temporary headquarters. While the plane trip is a pleasant 30-minute flight, the alternative is a six-hour ride over rough Haitian roads followed by a boat trip across the channel. With expected improvements in the road system, the deepwater port potential of the island, and the current policy of off-loading heavy equipment directly from landing barges, any transportation problems seem close to being permanently solved.

OBSERVATIONS

With the operational stage of the freeport project now seriously underway, the ultimate potential of the island becomes even easier to envision. Its natural advantages include a strategic location in the Caribbean, ample space for virtually any endeavor, a host country eagerly looking for economic growth, and—most important—a 99-year tax-free environment. Possibility for success is increased even further by the fact that other traditional freeport/tourism areas are being progressively crippled by growth in taxes to one degree or another; nearly everywhere else the myopia of economic nationalism is breeding an increasingly hostile environment for business or tourism, let alone any vestiges of a freeport system. An excellent example of this degeneration can be found in the so-called Freeport of the Grand Bahamas where the import duty on watches and jewelry has grown to a range of 27-30%. Tortuga, on the contrary, can never have any at all, making the relative advantages obvious. Add to this the surliness of the natives in many traditional Caribbean tourist areas, along with the growing number of racial incidents directed against whites in these other areas and you have the formula for the unique success of Tortuga.

Pierson views the logical end of the freeport development as a vast complex of commercial activity. Beyond the obvious attraction of tourism, gambling, and truly tax-free shopping and consumption, there are essentially unlimited possibilities: retirement living, condominiums , companies incorporating for tax benefits, all types of manufacturing, international banking services; service as a flag of convenience for shipping companies such as those that now register in Liberia or Panama. In addition there are a host of business operations already located in the islands that could profitably move to Tortuga especially when you consider the nearly untapped labor supply of Tortuga and Haiti.

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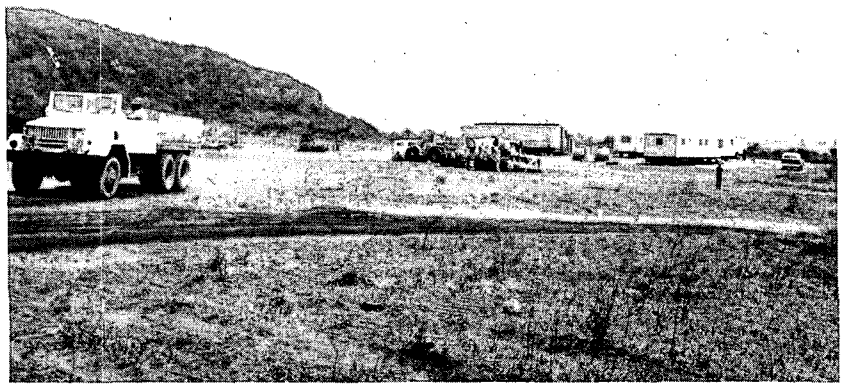

Temporary living quarters on Tortuga.

Although this type of growth does require time, Pierson estimates that in two years the island will have 5,000 new non-Haitian residents engaged in all types of commercial activity. The list of cruise ships interested in making port calls is growing steadily and it is estimated that after the same two years an average of nearly 20,000 tourists a month will visit the island.

THE GOVERNMENT

The obvious question generated by this information is whether the Haitian government at some future date would attempt to tamper with the freeport of Tortuga, by either repudiating or forcibly altering their convention with Dupont Caribbean in the hopes of generating tax income in addition to their current financial interest, or by nationalizing all or part of the activities on the island. The whole project quite obviously is possible only because of the contractual forebearance of the Haitian government, yet the flowering of a vital multi-faceted economy on their formerly undeveloped island would be a tempting plum indeed. I questioned Pierson about these possibilities and he replied by emphasizing that the Haitian government realized full well that the ultimate success of Tortuga rested upon keeping the confidence of the world business community by maintaining the laissez -faire environment of the island. Tampering with the agreement could only result in a serious disservice to everyone concerned and Haiti would have by far the most to lose. It should be noted that Pierson has been dealing with the Haitian government and people on an intimate basis for over four years now and seems fully satisified with the credibility of the government.

In concluding a discussion of this matter it should also be stated that the success of Tortuga will have tremendous implications for the whole country. As more and more people are drawn to the freeport, the spotlight will also fall on the mainland. The freeport's success could be a significant factor in the mainland's growth as well and the government is obviously aware of this fact.

Seemingly, the freeport project could not have come at a better time. Since the death of Dr. Francois (Papa Doc) Duvalier in 1971, his son, Jean-Claude, has been installed as "president for life." With the change has come a more nearly open society; although still depressed, the Haitian economy is also starting to show signs of growth. In the last two years an estimated 200 new businesses have set up operations there, creating approximately 10,000 new jobs. The recently-created quickie divorce industry exposes many new people to the country every week, some of whom stay on for extended visits and even to set up businesses there.

Haiti may be ripe for many types of progress, particularly after the isolation that began with Papa Doc's regime. One hopes that the government's new pledge to increase economic growth is based on an understanding of the dynamism of the free market, and will remain firm as time passes. ◻

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Dupont Caribbean, Inc.
Eastland, Texas.

[2] For general information on the Haitian economy:
U. S. Embassy
Commercial Secretary
Port-au-Prince
Haiti
(Request their publication titled "Economic Trends" dated August, 1972.)

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the nation builders' struggle

John L. Snare

Several "new country" projects have been making news in recent months. A number of efforts have been initiated to establish communities, resorts, or freeports free of the restrictions imposed by traditional, established governments. All of these face formidable problems from both external and internal sources. Yet at least two of these ventures are not only still alive but showing vigor.

The implications of a new libertarian "nation" without coercive government are breath-taking. Such a community, if once established and sustained to the takeoff point, might show economic and social growth never equalled before in history. Such a new community might also become linked to parallel economies in established nations. Floating cities in deep water with little or no problem of conflict with present national territories appear possible; the technology exists, but as usual the major problems are social, political, and economic. A critical factor seems to be getting enough capital and skills into a community to attract large numbers of persons and develop adequate markets; a few families establishing residence in shallow-water structures or in boats would hardly have any significant effect, even if they were free.

Two kinds of projects are described herein: those in which freedom is the major goal; and those that are commercial or profit-seeking, in which greater freedom is only a means to greater profit. The latter group is not to be ignored; because of their careful, practical, hardnosed approach, with perhaps less wishful thinking and emotional involvement, they may have a greater chance of success, and one of them may incidentally discover the idea that profits will be greater in a libertarian society. Also, the latter group probably will find financing less difficult than the first group will.

Of the ideologically-inspired groups, one is inactive (Preform), another has recently suspended publication of its newsletter (Operation Atlantis), while the third (Mike Oliver's project) is not only active, but appears to be making a breakthrough.

Of the commercially-oriented projects, Taluga appears to be stalled for need of interim financing, while the very recent Tortuga project of Dupont Caribbean, Inc., appears to be moving rapidly, though not without signs of trouble.

PREFORM WAS THE FIRST

Preform (also Free Isles) was initiated by some inspired and energetic young persons in Santa Monica and the general Los Angeles area in 1963 and continued actively into 1965. Seeing no hope of the United States becoming truly free any time in the near future, these libertarians set about planning a new country with laissez-faire capitalism. The story is recorded in the *PREFORM-INFORM NEWSLETTER,* which evolved into the present-day *VONU-LIFE.*

Tackled problems of establishing a new country. The primary purpose of Preform was to conduct research and formulate plans for attaining the new-country goal. There were numerous meetings, discussions, writings, and reports, with considerable participation but limited funds. Many important and basic problems were tackled; the record shows impressive thought and effort. Presentation tapes were prepared for use in places far from Los Angeles. Factors to be considered in site studies were described, and general areas were considered (sites in or near North America, Central America, northern South America, or the Caribbean). Methods by which territory could be obtained were discussed.

Preform noted the advantages of a free society in attracting capital, business, trade, human skills, etc. Even assuming virtually no natural resources, resorts and tourism were obvious possibilities; a laissez-faire community would also be attractive for banking, international trade and transportation, marine facilities, medicine, education, and probably many other types of human endeavor.

Voluntary constitutional government—The Association of Free Isles (AFI) was to be a voluntary constitutional government, a limited and rather loose association, with no compulsory taxes. There were to be no local governments, although local Isle Development Corporations (IDC) were to develop and provide some facilities and services, such as roads and ports, ordinarily provided by governments. Charters for the IDC's would originate by contract between entrepreneurs and the AFI. The IDC's were to be profit-seeking, and each would have exclusive territory. Their organization was a "jusinco" type (Joint user-investor controlled organization); their charters provided for user representation and control to become dominant whenever the rate of profit exceeded a specified figure, in order to offset the possibility that one might take advantage of its monopoly position and charge excessive prices for road-use or other services and facilities. Presumably the users would then reduce rates or increase services; but if profits dropped too low, the balance of power would swing back to the investors. There would be a natural tendency to hold the rate of profit just above the specified figure; the investors would be happy because that would be a higher rate of return than they could get when their control was dominant, and the users would be in control and would be striving for efficiency and lower user rates, but would still try to keep the profits up so they could continue to control the IDC. An IDC might prefer to lease land rather than sell it, in order to secure a continuing source of income for maintaining the facilities it was obligated to provide; also this would provide motivation to maintain the facilities in excellent condition so as to be able to charge higher rents.

Preform became inactive—The active participants eventually scattered or drifted apart, and the newsletter (now *VONULIFE*) turned to the problem of attaining freedom by individuals independently rather than in a group. But clearly Preform had an impact on both its participants and others who read and listened, and its aims and ideas may yet be useful to later freedom-seekers.

OPERATION ATLANTIS: A FREE COUNTRY, BY STEPS

"Operation Atlantis" is an attempt to take direct, positive steps toward an ideal free nation, by stages. The first stage was an interim community of freedom-seekers in America who would have the satisfaction of contact with each other while they acquired the necessary complement of skills and occupations, built up their capital, and made plans for stage two. Stage two was to be an economically viable and self-sustaining community aboard a ship in international waters, while finally stage three would be a permanent community on a small island or new landfill in international waters.

Stage one: Saugerties, New York—"Operation Atlantis" is directed by a man using the pen name Warren K. Stevens and is based at the Atlantis Motel (R. D. 5 Box 22A, Saugerties, N. Y. 12477). The 14-unit motel is one mile from Exit 20 on the New York Thruway. A number of persons associated with the Operation part-time or full time have been housed at the motel, earning their room rent by working with the Operation. Stevens published a booklet, *THE STORY OF OPERATION ATLANTIS,* and started *THE ATLANTIS NEWS* in 1968 (publication recently suspended). Sunday afternoon "Freedom Forums" are a regular event at the motel, attracting many visitors and a great deal of discussion.

Money system established—The foundation for a new private money system was laid with the establishment of ATCOPS, a precursor of the Bank of Atlantis, with silver deposit accounts denominated in decagrams or decas, units of 10 grams of silver .999 fine. The deca caught the fancy of many libertarians, and a recent statement of ATCOPS revealed deposits totalling more than Đ200,000 (about $100,000), paying 3% interest. A limited number of deca coins of sterling silver have been issued, and depositors can use transfer orders, similar to checks, to make payments in decas to other persons.

Proprietary community planned—Stevens at first planned a limited government, a kind of voluntary association, but later favored a governmentless society in the form of a proprietary community, with a minimum of behavioral rules incorporated into an explicit, voluntary, mutually-accepted contract with each tenant, franchisee, or employee. The proprietary community, as a private, profit-seeking organization, would own all space rights in the community, and would provide guards and certain other government-type services for the benefit of its community-member customers. Contracts including nonaggression clauses for both parties, with posting of bond and a private arbitration clause for settling disputes, have been used at Atlantis I (the first stage, at the motel).

Stevens indicated a desire to contact other libertarian entrepreneurs and coordinate their plans so that they all would contribute to the formation of an economically viable community. Although Stevens had access to some funds, the financing needs for a new

"The implications of a new libertarian 'nation' without coercive government are breath-taking."

island or ocean community would be formidable. Also, the association of a number of independently-financed entrepreneurs would make the new community less dependent on the finances and plans of one man. However, progress in the direction of such parallel planning has been very disappointing.

Boat built—Operation Atlantis undertook construction, crew-training, and operation of a 38-foot trawler-type ferrocement boat in 1971. This boat and crew were to survey a prospective shallow-water site for the construction of a "Texas tower" type of base in the Caribbean as the beginning of Atlantis II (the boat was christened *Atlantis II*). The boat reached the Caribbean in March, 1972, but mechanical trouble caused the crew to leave the boat in the Bahamas and return to New York.

Operation Atlantis silent—Operation Atlantis has not failed to attract its share of critics, who took it to task for inadequate planning, busy-work, improper ideology and strategy, in addition to those critics who condemn the concept of "retreatism" in general.

As the *Atlantis II* prepared for the voyage to the Caribbean, Stevens negotiated a 220year lease for a small tract in the freeport area of Tortuga, to be used for a small commercial chemical-mixing plant as well as an interim base while exploring, planning, and starting construction at Atlantis III. However, when the principals in Dupont Caribbean learned of the "new country" plan, they objected strenuously. Stevens subsequently suspended publication of his newsletter, and silence has enveloped Operation Atlantis.

OLIVER PROCLAIMS SOVEREIGNTY

Voluntary fees for government—"The Capitalist Country," with limited government and voluntary payments for governmental services (no taxes, although certain fines or penalties may be compulsory) was planned by Michael Oliver (P. O. Box 485, Carson City, Nevada 89701). He delineated his ideas in the book, *A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR A NEW COUNTRY,* 1968, and continued to describe his efforts in an occasional newsletter which began publication in July 1968 when his search for suitable land was launched.

Extensive support—Oliver, associated with some impressive names in business and financial circles in America and other countries, expressed surprise at the extent of support for the idea. He stated that he believed his Vanguard Corporation, formed 1 November 1968, with an authorized $10 million capital stock, could raise many millions of dollars in six to 12 months (if SEC requirements did not prevent it).

Four years in a concentration camp—Oliver, born 1928 in Lithuania, has lived under Nazism and Communism, including four years in a concentration camp, and has become fearful for the future of America. In regard to his haste to leave America and establish a free country, he comments, "I'd rather be five or 10 years too early than five or 10 minutes too late."

Experienced in real estate development, he has travelled extensively, looking for land with little or no conventional government, or with a small colonial population and weak ties to the parent country that would make future independence easier. Nearly $200,000 has been expended on his New Country efforts, most of this from his own funds.

Many places investigated—Land or island areas have been examined and considered in New Caledonia, Turks, Caicos, Curacao, Surinam, French Guiana, and other places in the West Indies and elsewhere. Oliver has made offers to purchase some tracts and has been offered options on other tracts. In November 1968 he made an offer for a tract of 7,000 acres without complete sovereignty. In April 1971 a correspondent reported an offer from the Cabinet of a Central American nation with a stable government of a 41-square-mile island for $3 million, on which autonomous settlement could be made, but upon closer investigation the offer was found to be lacking. In the summer of 1971, Oliver began investigating possible sites in Africa. The search still continues for a land area large enough for hundreds of thousands of persons, with only foreign policy determined by the existing government. Oliver notes that once nationhood is established in one area, it should be easier to acquire territory in other areas with sovereignty, since private individuals alone would be unlikely to get the rule of the former government removed.

Tourol settlement attempted—In September 1971, the Tourol property on Santa Maria island in the northern New Hebrides was opened up, with the announcement that it was ready for settlers. The land was surveyed, maps made, and 99-year leases prepared. Then a few days later (2 November 1971) came the chilling message: "The New Hebrides Freedom Settlement Project is dead . . . ." The British administrator had announced that visitor and immigration permits would be limited to no more than four months.

Minerva founded—The search continued. On 19 January 1972, a claim was established on two small coral atolls in the South Pacific, 400 miles south of Fiji. Simple structures were erected, and the "Republic of Minerva" was proclaimed with formal notices to many nations. In March an engineering crew was on site at Minerva. The initial plan was to bring in dredges to build up land behind seawalls at the rate of 0.4 acre per day, with a preliminarily estimated cost of $8,000 to $12,000 per acre. Quarter-acre residential lots with some utilities were to be made available, and the total land area was projected as 10,000 acres. As a result of the engineering survey, however, the dredge-and-fill plan was replaced by a sea-city concept, either floating or constructed on pilings.

Excellent fishing in the lagoons is reported, and the atolls contain two natural harbors. Already some light manufacturing firms, as well as banking and financial companies, are showing interest.

Minerva is outside the territory claimed by any nation and is not on the continental shelf of any nation or continent. However, a long fight in various courts against the objections of conventional nations in that part of the world can be expected.

Provisional government established—A limited-government constitution has been prepared, adapted from Oliver's book. As church and state were successfully separated a couple centuries ago, Oliver proposes that the next great step is to separate the state and the economy, leaving the state with only the function of protection against force and fraud (although parents may be compelled to provide for the welfare and education of *their* children). The state itself is barred from using force to collect revenue, since the fees are voluntary, with governmental services withheld from those who choose not to pay.

Anarchists not wanted—Oliver has vehemently attacked anarchy, saying it is a form of collectivism and resulted only in a tyranny following that was greater than the one that anarchy replaced. He is fully convinced that the anarcho-capitalist concept is faulty.

CORTEZ PLANS SEA CITY TALUGA

"Taluga" is a new sea city planned by Cortez Development Corporation (10210 N.E. 8th, Suite 200, Bellevue, Washington) to be constructed in the Pacific Ocean west of Mexico. The Phase I complex is designed to serve a total population of about 90,000, including 18,000 tourists and 3,000 retired residents. This is a commercial undertaking, motivated for profit rather than ideological goals, and includes provisions for an autonomous government. Four basic sectors of the economy are delineated in the plans: the tourist sector, the industry sector, the government sector, and the support and labor force.

A brilliantly engineered plan—"Project Taluga" was initially conceived in the mind of Edward M. deSarro, a retired Army engineer who put more than a quarter of a million dollars into development and planning before his death. A search for the best site ended with the selection of Cortes Bank, a sea mount 100 miles west of Mexico and very near the maritime boundary extending seaward from the joint boundary of the United States and Mexico. Cortes Bank is in an area claimed by no government, although the United States has erected a navigational aid there. The bank rises from the deep ocean floor and is not on the continental shelf by any accepted geological or legal definition.

The sea mount is an ideal base from an engineering viewpoint, and elaborate and impressive construction plans have been prepared. The Cortes Bank is 120 square miles in area, and the highest point of the sea mount is 12 feet under water. Four land masses are planned, with a total area of 179 acres. However, the land is to be used mainly for parks; the buildings are to be supported from large concrete columns in water, extending down to bedrock. A massive rock seawall, the first thing to be constructed, will protect the land and buildings, with two openings in the wall to allow current flowthrough and entry of ships. A reinforced concrete structure on one seawall will contain retail shops and storage area. A rapid-transit system will transport baggage and passengers about the city.

A resort center—The primary activities planned for the city are resort and recreational, with a steady flow of tourists coming by jets which will land on an airstrip atop one of the projected seawalls, with docking facilities for ten passenger and three cargo planes, and also four helicopters. Plans also included, at least at one time, provisions for an ultra-modern hospital with an outstanding staff, and a large full-scholarship university with a world-wide student body.

Financing needed—Cortez Development Corporation, formed in 1968 by deSarro, is now headed by Anthony T. Ressa, an attorney who has carefully examined applicable law and who keeps informed on international developments regarding rights in the sea. Professional consulting firms have been engaged in preparing economic and technical projections. But financing such a gigantic undertaking has presented problems; Phase I of the construction was estimated in 1969 to require $350 million. Although a substantial sum has been pledged to the Corporation, it is

conditional on satisfactory conclusion of the independent feasibility studies, and the Corporation is still seeking interim financing to complete these studies. Capital requirements for the completed city of some 250,000 persons were once estimated at two *billion* dollars.

Autonomous government—The plans state that a portion of the residents will be government employees, and Phase I includes $19½ million for government buildings. However, one of the main reasons for constructing such a sea city apparently is to escape the disadvantages of the United States, Mexico, and other existing governments. Mr. deSarro indicated the government would consist of two bodies; an upper house, composed of Corporation officers and concerned with major and basic laws, and a lower house, composed of franchisees, local businessmen, and others, which would be concerned with lesser matters.

If the Corporation maintains control over the government, the result possibly might be a truly limited government, in effect a porprietary community, and consistent with libertarian morals. On the other hand, if the Corporation, through the government, employs force to regulate, control, and tax residents and visitors in a unilateral and arbitrary manner inconsistent with voluntary contract, libertarians as well as many profit-seeking businessmen will probably find Taluga unattractive and uninteresting except for the physical and economic implications for the construction and operation of other sea cities.

DUPONT CARIBBEAN PLANS A FREEPORT-RESORT

A tax-free society—DC (for Dupont Caribbean, Inc.) is a private, profit-seeking company developing a freeport-resort area under a 99-year agreement with Haiti. The freeport will be totally free of taxes, government controls, or regulations. DC is headed by Donald Pierson, former operator of a "pirate" radio station off England, and ex-mayor of Eastland, Texas. DC has rights to develop up to 75% of some 60 square miles comprising the island of Tortuga. Although DC will have controls and regulations of its own, these presumably will be according to voluntary market contracts. Consequently these restrictions can be expected to be designed for economic efficiency, and to be responsive to individual preferences as revealed by market demand, unlike restrictions unilaterally imposed by force under a non-market political process.

The planned facilities include a freeport, hotels, second homes, recreational areas, casinos, and light industry. An 8,000-foot airstrip, large enough for big jets, is projected; a 4,000-foot grassed strip big enough for DC-3's has already been completed.

Unified development advantages—The plans show implicit recognition of proprietary community advantages. DC will be encouraged by the profit motive to reduce pollution of air, land, sea, sound waves, and scenery. DC is considering underground electrical transmission lines, carefully routed roads with reduced and restricted traffic, building and development to preserve natural scenic beauty, and integrated facilities for electrical generation and desalination of water and waste disposal systems.

Utilities, roads, and other infrastructure now are virtually nonexistent. Most of the 10 to 20 thousand island natives live under very primitive conditions. The island has a network of trails, but only one road, which runs from a shore village back to a Catholic mission on the ridge. However, this absence of facilities has the advantage of providing more options and greater freedom in design, and with its unified community approach, DC has an excellent opportunity to develop an optimum set of community facilities. A 50-room hotel was scheduled for completion early in 1972 (but is behind schedule), with a larger 250-room hotel to be open by the end of the year.

Possibly some objectionable features—Licenses must be obtained to operate businesses, and many of these licenses may grant exclusive or monopolistic operating privileges. a market monopoly inspires apprehension in many persons, and DC will indeed have a monopoly within its territory. If the Haitian government adheres strictly to a laissez-faire policy in regard to all activity within the territory leased to DC, an operation could develop that would be virtually identical to a libertarian proprietary community. But the line between a monopoly based strictly on private property rights and voluntary contracts, on the one hand, and a monopoly supported by governmental force, on the other hand, may be very thin, a proverbial razor's edge. Also, one libertarian proprietary community alone may prove less advantageous to its customers than many proprietary communities competing with each other for business.

Phase I of DC's development plans call for "government buildings" in the harbor town. There is no indication of what kind of governmental activities there will be, or how the money will be raised to finance them.

The development of the agreement with Haiti involved an ex-ambassador of Haiti, and his nephew who was a favorite of "Papa Doc" Duvalier. After the death of "Papa Doc," some rumblings of discontent with the arrangement arose, with claims that Duvalier had "given away too much." DC gave 10 million shares of its stock to the Haitian government, which will give it a financial interest in the success of DC, if the Haitians do not sell it. Some officials have expressed concern about the danger of smuggling from Tortuga into Haiti, only 4 miles away, or other abuse by persons associated with DC. A thriving capitalist operation within its own national territory may be a tempting target to rulers of a nation with an unbelievably low income.

Recent news indicated that DC has hit some snags. Some financing has not materialized, the 50-room hotel has not been built, and there are reports of disagreements among some of the principal persons involved. However, Mr. Pierson has categorized these as "normal growing pains."

But still some possibilities—Despite the risks, DC appears to have some libertarian possibilities, and it will be interesting to follow its development. Something can certainly be learned from DC's efforts.

PROGNOSIS

In view of the considerable problems encountered by all of these projects, my own view is that the odds appear to be against a successful libertarian community being established by any of them in the near future. Yet a tiny chance of success may still exist for one of these projects or others that may be launched in the future. The educationists, activists, and other libertarian camps are having their own problems trying to get the almost-extinct flower of freedom to grow, and it would seem libertarian to be tolerant of the ideas and efforts of persons seeking freedom and profit in ways different from our own. ◻

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GOING ABROAD—SOME ASSISTANCE

Libertarians wishing to investigate opportunities overseas may find two recently-published books to be of interest. *I'VE HAD IT—A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO MOVING ABROAD* inventories the benefits and drawbacks of a number of "hospitable alternative countries," describing the job, tax, climate, school, and language situations in each. Author Robert Hopkins has lived and traveled around the world and draws on his experience to provide hard, factual information. (Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1972, $7.95)

For those more interested in looking before they leap, *YOUR PASSPORT TO MAKING IT ABROAD* describes the problems and pitfalls that beset the under-30 traveler in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australia. According to author Mark Altschuler, the anti-hippie syndrome is so widespread among foreign governments that virtually anyone with a beard and/or non-short hair may have difficulties. The book includes discussions of both the black market and drug regulations in general, as well as country-by-country rundowns. (Robert Speller & Sons, 1972, $2.50 paperback)

Some people hate **INVICTUS.** Others love it.

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Here is a small sampling of past issues:
EDUCATION IN FEELING AND PURPOSE by Charles R. Kelley. A distinguished psychologist, with intellectual debts to Ayn Rand and Wilhelm Reich, explains the repression of emotions and the principles of emotional release.
MAKING A GETAWAY AFTER THE LOSS OF THE DOLLAR. An explanation of how government controls are leading us to an economic collapse, and suggestions for protecting oneself from the consequences. By George Kysor.
SEXISM VERSUS HUMANITARIAN INDEPENDENCE by Evan Paxton. A critical examination of the psychological and political effects of sexism.
BEYOND SELF-ESTEEM: THE WILL TO EFFICACY. Author Peter E. McAlpine argues that the notion of moral worth included in the concept of self-esteem is, in fact, an idea that is psychologically harmful.

INVICTUS has also featured the thought-provoking writings of Dr. Murray N. Rothbard. Prof. Tibor R. Machan, Rod Manis, Prof. James A. Sadowsky. Jeff Riggenbach, Charles Barr, William H. Stoddard, L.A. Rollins (managing editor of INVICTUS) and other outstanding libertarian thinkers.

Issues 24 and 25 of INVICTUS feature the two-part essay, OBJECTIVISM AS A RELIGION: THE USES AND ABUSES OF THE OBJECTIVIST ETHICS by George H. Smith. In this article, Mr. Smith, author of a forthcoming book on atheism, presents a detailed analysis of Objectivist religiosity and its various manifestations. He shows how the ethical principles of Objectivism are often distorted in subtle ways, and are thereby transformed into the psychological equivalent of religious commandments. For anyone with a background in Objectivist philosophy, this is must reading. Issues 24 and 25 are available for a total price of $1.50.

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movies

REVIEWED BY
CHARLES BARR

• **WHERE DOES IT HURT?** is not a satire; it is an anti-doctor propaganda film, afflicted with a terminal case of overkill. The movie's small amount of unsophisticated humor is composed equally of cynicism, slapstick and bad taste. Peter Sellers manages to be thoroughly obnoxious as Albert T. Hopfnagel, the corrupt administrator of a metropolitan hospital. He presides over a staff of venal, incompetent doctors, whose interest in the welfare of their patients is exceeded only by their interest in women, golf, and the stock market. Sellers divides his time between overcharging his patients, falsifying medical reports, blackmailing his staff, making out with the nurses, and sneaking in and out of his "secret entrance"—a Pepsi machine in the middle of a hospital corridor!

Rick Lenz co-stars as an amiable and perfectly healthy clod who is admitted to the hospital and treated to two expensive and unnecessary operations. Jo Ann Pflug portrays a nurse with all the warmth and sensitivity of a boa constrictor. The acting is on a par with the script; to say the performers overplay their roles is putting it mildly. Any resemblance between this film and reality is in the mind of the script-writer. The medical profession is certainly not above reproach, but the base attitude and sick jokes of *WHERE DOES IT HURT?* do not qualify as legitimate criticism or satire. Rated "R".

• The first half of **WHEN THE LEGENDS DIE** is a lively chronicle of the adventures of a reservation Indian youth attempting to make a name for himself on the rodeo circuit. Then, for no discernible reason, the excitement abruptly stops. As the legends die, so does the plot; the ending is predictible and disappointing. The film does have some merits, notably the fine performances of Frederic Forrest as Tom Black Bull, and Richard Widmark as the aging rancher who teaches him to ride—and to cheat. *WHEN THE LEGENDS DIE* also achieves some success as a social document, detailing Tom's entry into white man's society and his ultimate rejection of it. The rodeo sequences which dot the first half of the movie are authentic and exciting, and contain some genuinely funny and moving moments. Effectively portrayed is Tom's gradual change of attitude toward his teacher, from hero-worship to contempt. The climactic scene occurs about half an hour before the ending. Then, instead of coming to a swift resolution, the story line trails off into an endless series of uninteresting events, and the film's efforts to be "earnest" and "meaningful" become obvious and labored. Even the characterization suffers. Near the end, Tom seems to retreat further inside himself, and his motives become less and less comprehensible. Too bad; without that long, drawn-out ending, *WHEN THE LEGENDS DIE* would have been a better-than-average movie. Rated "PG".

• **YOU'LL LIKE MY MOTHER** is a super-thriller, the best movie of its kind since *WAIT UNTIL DARK.* This time, rather than a blind girl, the heroine is a young widow, seven months pregnant. She takes a bus to Minnesota to meet her dead husband's mother, but instead a snowstorm leaves her trapped in a mansion populated by strange characters and a multitude of deep, dark family secrets. The script by Jo Heims (from the novel by Naomi Hintze) is both literate and believable—virtues doubly important because the plot depends heavily upon the characters' motivations and their relations with one another. Instead of portraying helpless victims being attacked by mindless evil, *YOU'LL LIKE MY MOTHER* displays the forces of good and evil engaged in purposeful conflict. Unlike so many others of its type, this movie makes sense. The snowy Minnesota setting provides some glimpses of gorgeous scenery, and heightens the sense of the mansion's isolation from the outside world. The film's lighting and direction are first-rate, though the music is too intrusive at times.

Patty Duke delivers an inspired performance as the frightened but resourceful young widow, Francesca. Rosemary Murphy convincingly portrays Mrs. Kinsolving, a greedy, amoral middle-aged crone who turns out to be hiding more than just the family skeletons. Richard Thomas is perfectly cast as her son, a creepy, thoroughly revolting specimen of humanity without a single redeeming quality. (And he seemed like such a nice guy on *THE WALTONS!)* Sian Barbara Allen makes her movie debut in an effective, touching portrayal of a mentally retarded girl who turns out to be less simple-minded than anyone had thought. She and Patty Duke become friends, adding a much-needed touch of humanity to an unremitting tension that is often stretched to the breaking point. Rated "PG".

• Ken Russell, who produced and directed *THE BOY FRIEND* and *THE DEVILS,* has come up with another winner. His new movie, **SAVAGE MESSIAH**, is a lively biography of French impressionist painter and sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, whose prolific career was cut short by his death in World War I at the age of 23. The film covers the last five years of his life, during which he lived with Sophie Brzeska, a woman more than twice his age. In the movie, Henri is portrayed as dashing and carefree, though somewhat irresponsible. Sophie appears intelligent but rather bitter, admiring Henri's passionate sense of life but unwilling to share in it. Their curious relationship is set against the background of the oncoming war and Henri's emerging talent. The movie features surprisingly fine performances from a cast of complete unknowns, with Scott Antony as the impulsive Henri, and Dorothy Tutin as the more restrained Sophie. Most of the supporting cast portray Henri's avant-garde artistic friends, and a more freaky bunch would be hard to find. The party scene which takes place halfway through the movie is worth the price of admission by itself. The London and Paris locales are authentic, and several of Henri's actual paintings. and sculptures are displayed during the course of the movie. Although the film ends with Henri's death, it is not a downer by any means—an atmosphere of cheerful irreverance is maintained throughout. So well has Ken Russell avoided the common cliches of movie biographies that *SAVAGE MESSIAH* would be worthwhile even if it were pure fiction, rather than fact. It is not often that a tribute to an artist turns out to be a work of art itself. Rated "R".

book review

HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH.
By Marvin Henry Edwards. Arlington House. 1972. Pp. 318. $9.95.

REVIEWED BY M. L. ZUPAN

In a recent article in *REASON* Dr. Robert M. Sade disputed the "right to health" cry which lies behind the current political movement to adopt some form of socialized medicine in the U.S. Marvin H. Edwards' book, *HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH,* explores the whole campaign—its basis, its claims, and what's wrong with it.

While prominent figures like Senator Kennedy find it hard to swallow that the U.S. is the only major western nation which has not adopted a compulsory nationwide government health system, and national magazines, television documentaries, and labor union leaders rail against the "health crisis" in America, calling for the government to do *something,* Mr. Edwards is one of the few raising a voice to present the other side of the issues. As he points out, the debate usually takes the form of *which* government program to adopt, not whether we should even resort to government control of any sort.

With his background as editor of *PRIVATE PRACTICE,* a professional medical magazine, this is not the first time Mr. Edwards has spoken out *against* the attempts to initiate comprehensive government health programs and *for* the present system of health care delivery in the U.S. As the author stresses, "This is *not* a pro-doctor book. . . . it is a pro-private enterprise book." As such, it presents the most basic argument, for libertarians, against national health insurance and (just one step away) any form of socialized medicine.

Mr. Edwards' attack on government health programs is three-pronged: not only does he argue against the concept on a philosophical basis, but he meets the proponents on their own ground, with a consideration of the arguments which are given for government programs, and what the consequences of such programs have been in other nations, and would be in this country.

He does an effective job of demolishing the currently widespread assertions that the quality of medical care in the U.S. is poor (in comparison to other nations) and the cost inordinately high, by marshalling his own statistics to counter these claims and by showing that a good portion of the claims actually consist of false propaganda, the misrepresentation of statistics to "prove" a "health care crisis." According to Mr. Edwards, and his point is well substantiated, there is no *crisis* in health care delivery in America; there is no sound basis for throwing out the present system and replacing it with a government-controlled one in the interest of solving the alleged problems of quality and cost.

As a matter of fact, says Mr. Edwards, government programs will be no solution, but will turn out to be "hazardous to your health." To back this up he presents a large amount of material about existing national health systems in other countries and the government programs already initiated in the U.S. (Medicare, Medicaid, VA Hospitals). The information provides a convincing indictment of government health systems. The evidence is that quality and increasing costs, the two targets of the proponents, actually are worsened rather than improved under national systems. "Americans faced with proposals for massive new Federal health insurance programs can reflect on a lengthy history of costly government failure in other areas . . . projects that have too frequently collapsed under the weight of faulty concepts, inept planning and inefficient administration."

It is the author's contention that the failures of the national health programs can be traced, not to the planning, as has been argued by their proponents, but to the concept itself. Besides "the faulty concept that government bureaucracy can successfully solve problems," there is the fallacy in the economic thinking—there is no such thing as "free medicine" because ultimately it is the taxpayer who provides the government funds to finance the programs.

More fundamentally, the author resolves the issue to one concerning the rights of the persons involved.

He dismisses the "right to health care" argument by pointing out that the *desirability* of good health for each individual does not establish it as the individual's *right,* not in the sense of a basic human right which must be guaranteed by society. It is the latter sense of "right" which lies at the base of the entire welfare system and the government health concept. But this entails a violation of each citizen's right not to have the rewards of his labor seized to provide for the needs of other members of the community, and overlooks the legitimate rights of those who must provide the care. And, as with any increase in governmental control, national health programs will include the imposition of more limitations on individual freedoms, more governmental controls over social behavior. As the author shows, this is not a mere hypothetical point—under existing national programs there have been numerous instances of encroachment of individuals' rights to privacy in the therapeutic situation, to choose the persons with whom the particular relationships involved in medical care will be established, and to negotiate for and receive the desired amount and quality of care.

On the whole, Mr. Edwards' book is a well-documented and well-presented rebuttal to the arguments being given in favor of national control of health care delivery. The only shortcoming of the book is the author's insistence that there is no appreciable problem with the availability and cost of medical care in the U.S. Better to acknowledge that a problem may exist and argue that governmental control is no solution. But Mr. Edwards' preoccupation with the claims of the propagandists is understandable. Although the bulk of his book does deal with the arguments of the proponents, and this is valuable for meeting with those kinds of contentions, the soundness of Mr. Edwards' position rests with the basic issues he raises, issues which are never considered in the material presented for popular consumption, and which are of interest to libertarians.

Ms. Zupan is a student of psychology and philosophy at State University College, Fredonia, NY.

libertarian party correspondent—

In mid-September Dr. John Hospers, our presidential candidate, completed his campaign tour which covered eight states across the nation. The whirlwind schedule at each of his stops was probably best exemplified by his Dallas, Tex. visit.

Upon his arrival in Dallas, Dr. Hospers held a lively news conference at the airport of about two hours duration. From that point on, the candidate made several radio and TV appearances interspersed between speaking engagements, before flying on to Houston that night.

This pattern was repeated in Houston, Oklahoma City, Chicago, Boston, New Hampshire, Philadelphia, Des Moines, and finally Denver.

In Chicago, Dr. Hospers was joined by Ms. Tonie Nathan, our vice-presidential candidate for a speaking engagement and several radio and TV appearances. Several newspapers also covered the event, the most prominent being the *CHICAGO TRIBUNE*.

The trip was very successful in several respects, including the political aspects. The very appearance of the candidates served as a rallying point for party members and provided an opportunity for interested persons to gain an in-depth perspective on Libertarian ideas.

Radio, TV, and newspaper coverage was extensive (Dr. Hospers' Dallas appearance was carried by the wire services and received attention in newspapers throughout the country) and served to notify the public at large that there is a new movement afoot.

Speeches given to university students and other large audiences will expand considerably the market for libertarian ideas in the future. Financially, contributions to National HQ in Denver have increased substantially as more people are coming to realize that the Libertarian Party is for real.

Politically, what counts more than vote-getting (since the primary purpose of the Libertarian Party is education, not electing a president)—is the fact that radically new political ideas are being injected into America's political mainstream. These libertarian ideas are bound to take root in some form in the future.

One immediate result of the tour is becoming evident even at this early stage. Requests for Dr. Hospers to speak are coming in from several places across the country. In late September he was interviewed for 3 hours by an AP reporter for a story which was syndicated in early October. Sales of his book **LIBERTARIANISM** have picked up considerably.

The long-term effects of public exposure to libertarian ideas will, of course, take time to be felt and even more time to evaluate.

A look at various state activities:

CALIFORNIA—Plans are underway for a mid-October weekend tour by Dr. Hospers in the San Francisco Bay area. Support in the Northern California area has grown by leaps and bounds. Membership is in the hundreds throughout California.

NATIONAL—A mid-October nationwide tour is being planned for Ms. Tonie Nathan. The tour will probably be more extensive than Dr. Hospers' and should reap the same benefits in terms of exposure and idea dissemination.

COLORADO—National HQ continues to print up and disseminate hundreds of pieces of literature each week. Ads in national magazines have been prepared and submitted. Pipp Boyls' congressional campaign is going fairly well.

LOUISIANA—A drive is underway to obtain 1000 signatures to get Dr. Hospers on the ballot.

NEW YORK—The Free Libertarian Party state membership is up to several hundred, and campaigning for several local candidates is going ahead full steam.

OREGON—The home state of Ms. Nathan is actively engaged in canvass activity on a large scale and the party structure is growing at a steady rate.

WASHINGTON—Only 100 signatures were needed to get Dr. Hospers on the ballot and 107 were obtained. Ms. Nathan was instrumental in helping the Washington party get on the ballot.

BILL SUSEL

publisher's notes

• **REASON STAFF CHANGES:** Several changes in *REASON*'s staff have been made recently and are reflected on this month's masthead. Robert Poole has assumed the position of Managing Editor, having responsibility for much of the planning, scheduling, and organizing of *REASON*'s contents. Marilynn Walther, who has moved from California to Oregon, becomes Copy Editor. Manuel Klausner and Tibor Machan remain as Editor and Associate Editor, respectively. Donna Rasnake is added to the staff as Advertising Manager, a new position handling (at present) both advertising in *REASON* and *REASON*'s promotional activities.

• **ADDRESS CHANGE:** Effective immediately *REASON*'s Santa Monica post office box has been closed. Please address all correspondence to Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

• **NEW COLUMNS ANNOUNCED:** *REASON* is pleased to announce that two new columns will appear on a regular basis in 1973. "Money" will be a column of advice and commentary on world, national and personal monetary

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>
> - Reason, October, 1971

here is the table of contents:

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matters, designed to help readers protect their assets in the face of increasing political interference in economic affairs. The author will be Davis Keeler, publisher and editor of the highly-respected investment newsletter *RESEARCH REVIEW.*

The second new column will be "Science Fiction in Perspective"—discussing and reviewing science fiction as romantic literature. It will be authored by John J. Pierce, editor of *RENAISSANCE,* one of the leading anti-new-wave fanzines. Our initial plan is to present the Keeler and Pierce columns on alternate months.

• **REASON ASSOCIATES PROGRESS REPORT:** Initial response to last month's announcement of Reason Associates has been enthusiastic. Reason is currently negotiating with Small World Travel in Los Angeles regarding group tours for Reason Associates members. Watch for details in the January issue.

• **REASON NOW AVAILABLE ON MICROFILM:** Thanks to the interest and efforts of Dr. Francis Spreitzer, head of the micrographics department at USC, volumes 1, 2, and 3 of *REASON* have been reproduced on a single reel of microfilm, and this may be ordered by individuals or libraries for $12.00 postpaid. This microfilm is the only readily available source of *REASON* Volume 1 and most of Volume 2—press runs in those days were generally only 300 copies of any given issue. Volume 1 is mimeographed; Volume 2 and 3 are offset. A number of classic *REASON* articles such as Lynn Kinsky's F.D.A. critique; Tibor Machan's "Justice and the Welfare State", Robert Poole's "Fly the Frenzied Skies", and the special *REASON* Ecology Issue are among those included on the microfilm, but otherwise out of print.

To purchase the microfilm for yourself or for your favorite library, just send a check or money order for $12.00 to: University of California, Library Micrographics Department, University Park, Los Angeles, CA 90007.

Dr. Spreitzer's efforts are not supported by any grant. The availability of later volumes will depend on the response to this offering.

• **PLANNING AND PROPERTY:** The Institute for Humane Studies (Menlo Park, CA) held a seminar on the subject of planning and property early in October. The seminar featured Chicago attorney Bernard Siegan, author of "Nonzoning in Houston," and anthropologist Spencer MacCallum, author of *THE ART OF COMMUNITY.*

• **"ATLAS" FILM DEAD:** As a result of a complete breakdown in negotiations between Ayn Rand and producer Al Ruddy, the *ATLAS SHRUGGED* film project is dead.

A source close to Ruddy reported that after five months of negotiations, the principals were unable to come to an agreement on terms, and as a consequence no contract was ever signed. The source stated that in addition to final script approval (which she had been granted, as she did not wish to write the script herself), Ayn Rand was also demanding "final cut approval," meaning that she would have to okay any changes in the approved script, and any trimming or deletion of scenes in the post-production phase. Ruddy would not consent to these terms, and his office reported in early October that the project is "definitely dead."

Ayn Rand's office in New York reported that these had been her original terms all along, and that Ruddy possibly had not understood their full implications when the tentative agreement for the filming was announced 10 May. "Miss Rand would no more allow anyone to make unauthorized cuts in the script, than she would allow a publisher to make unauthorized cuts in her novels," a member of her staff said.

With negotiations broken off, Ruddy is expected to allow his option on the *ATLAS SHRUGGED* screen rights to lapse. Meanwhile, Ayn Rand is not actively seeking another producer to make the film, so it may be many years before *ATLAS SHRUGGED* is finally brought to the screen.

• **TAXATION AND HOW TO AVOID IT:** will be the subject of a course offered at the USC Experimental College by Henry Hohenstein. Classes are at 8:00P.M. Tuesday in the Von Kleinschmidt Center. Among the items discussed will be the traditional tax shelters as well as an overview of some recent constitutional challenges to income tax.

• **COMPULSORY EDUCATION SYMPOSIUM:** The Center for Independent Education, in cooperation with the Institute for Humane Studies, has announced its first symposium—on the topic of compulsory education laws. Participants will include Prof. Murray N. Rothbard, Dr. E. G. West, and Mr. Robert P. Baker, and the symposium will be chaired by Prof. Benjamin A. Rogge. The event will take place in Milwaukee, from 16-18 November. Information may be obtained from George H. Pearson, Box 2256, Wichita, Kansas 67201.

• **SAN DIEGO TEN BULLETIN:** The presiding judge in the case of the San Diego Ten (arrested by Treasury agents while protesting IRS property seizures) has decided not to dismiss charges and has denied all motions made on behalf of the defendants. Thus, despite the government's admission that its case was weak, the San Diego Ten will go on trial on 5 December 1972.

Funds are urgently needed, as trial costs will be $300 per day, and the trial could go on for a month. Donations may be sent to the Libertarian Defense and Education Fund, Suite K, 2550 Via Tejon, Palos Verdes Peninsula, CA 90274.

• **QUOTE WITHOUT COMMENT:** An article on "trashing" of stores near universities (*TIME,* 28 August 1972, p.55) contained the following statement: *"Some campus merchants are trying to escape the wrath of students by becoming socially responsible. Many Berkeley shopkeepers donate part of their profits to local counter-culture organizations."*

• **LIBRARY SUBSCRIPTIONS:** Subscriber Will Barkley has given gift subscriptions to both the San Jose (CA) Public Library and the Cal State San Jose University Library.

Roger Lea MacBride of Charlottesville, VA has provided *REASON* gift subscriptions to both branches of the McIntire Public Library in Charlottesville, and to the Brooks Memorial Library in Brattleboro, VT.

Richard Rieman of the Top Dog Restaurant in Berkeley, CA has added the University of California at Berkeley, Stanford University, and the University of Minnesota to *REASON*'s growing list of university library subscribers.

A complete list of all *REASON* library subscriptions will appear in the January issue. A subscription to your favorite library would make an excellent holiday gift.

Academic Associates

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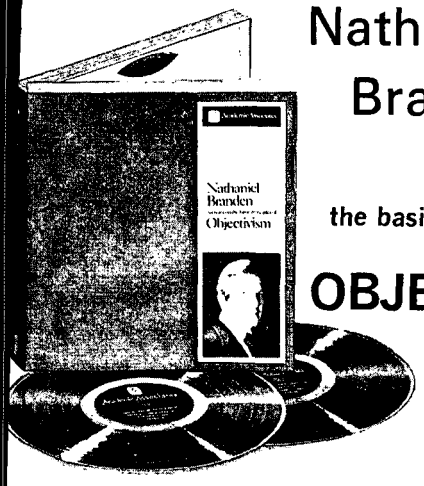
Academic Associates, founded in 1969, is an educational organization of Objectivist-libertarian persuasion which offers books and lecture recordings on psychology, philosophy, politics and related fields. Semi-annually, AA publishes **Book News**, which provides book reviews and descriptions of current offerings.



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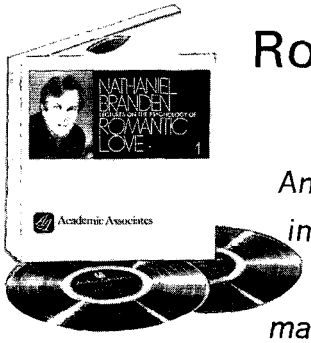

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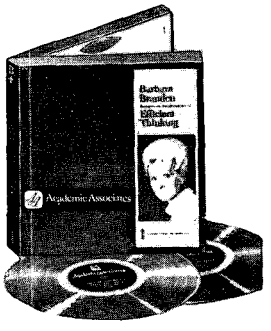

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trends

IPSA EXPANDS

Although only a few years old, the Independent Postal System of America (IPSA) continues to demonstrate the superiority of private enterprise mail delivery. The Oklahoma City firm now provides service from 140 offices in 34 states, serving some 10 million households. This summer IPSA expanded into Michigan (after a court victory over the American Postal Workers Union) and into Connecticut, IPSA's first location on the east coast. New offices are being made ready in Hartford, Boston, and Philadelphia in order to expand the east coast service. IPSA has also gone international, with two offices in Canada, one in London, and offices planned in France, West Germany, Belgium, and Ireland. And IPSA is solidly in the black, expecting to earn $500,000 for 1972 on revenues of $10 million.

IPSA's profits are derived exclusively from second, third, and fourth class mail services—those categories on which the U.S. Postal Service loses $2.5 billion per year. IPSA is still legally prohibited from entering the more profitable first-class mail business. But if IPSA founder and president Thomas Murray has his way, the government monopoly may be on its last legs. According to *BUSINESS WEEK,* based on recent favorable court rulings, "Murray plans to challenge the Post Office monopoly on first-class mail, and will also contest the ruling that only U.S. postal employees may deposit material in an individual's mailbox."

The idea of private enterprise mail delivery appears to be picking up more support. Jeffrey St. John recently praised the record of private postal service and called for more of it on his CBS Radio "Spectrum" show. And Senator Alan Cranston of California, in criticizing the slowness and high cost of government mail operations, suggested as alternatives *either* reversion to a fully-subsidized government system *or* opening the postal business up to competition.

SOURCES:

"The Private Postman Heads East," *BUSINESS WEEK,* 9 September 1972, p. 40.

"News," *A IS A NEWSLETTER,* October 1972, p.3.

ANTITRUST LANDMARK?

In four historic antitrust cases—Alcoa, United Shoe, American Tobacco, and Grinnell—the courts established an apparent principle that the sheer size of a company was grounds for antitrust action, with the burden of proof resting on the accused company to prove it would not use its economic power "wrongfully." Now, however, a federal judge in Phoenix has reversed this principle. In a case brought by Greyhound Computer Corp. against computer pioneer IBM, Judge Walter E. Craig has ruled that "size alone does not constitute an offense under the Sherman Act, nor does the mere possession of monopoly power."

Judge Craig's ruling apparently relied on one similar previous case, the DuPont cellophane case of 1957. In that case, both the lower courts and the Supreme Court ruled that the cellophane market could not be separated from the whole flexible wrappings market. Similarly, IBM contends that its computer business should be viewed as a part of the total information market (which it largely brought into being, to the benefit of hundreds of smaller data processing firms). Loser Greyhound intends "promptly and vigorously to appeal to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals." If the appeals court sustains Judge Craig's ruling, the future of several other pending anti-IBM suits (as well as the nature of antitrust law) could be profoundly affected.

SOURCE:

"Judgement Wrapped in Cellophane," *DATAMATION,* August 1972, p.65.

SEXUAL FREEDOM PROGRESS

California's odious law forbidding oral copulation was struck down as unconstitutional by a Los Angeles Superior Court judge on 11 September. The case, which involved the makers of pornographic films, is interesting in terms of the legal reasoning involved. Judge George E. Dell first noted that the U.S. Supreme Court has recognized, based on the Ninth Amendment, "a right of marital privacy with which a state may not constitutionally interfere." The Supreme Court has also noted that laws aimed exclusively at single persons violate their rights under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. Under the first of these principles, the court found the oral copulation law unconstitutional as applied to husband and wife, and thence, under the equal protection clause, also unconstitutional as applied to single persons. The same reasoning appears applicable to other existing restraints on consensual sex activities.

In Connecticut, meanwhile, a three-judge federal panel overturned the state's four-month old anti-abortion law. The harsh new law had been passed last May after the same three-judge panel had found the state's 1860 abortion law unconstitutional. In an unrelated development, the Gallup Poll reported that 64% of all Americans support "full liberalization" (i.e., repeal) of abortion laws as proposed in the following language: "the decision to have an abortion should be made solely by a woman and her physician." The percentage was up sharply from a figure of 57% last January. Interestingly, the survey found that a majority (56%) of Catholics now approve of this position on abortion, despite their church's continued opposition. The same Gallup survey also showed that 73% of all Americans (and 68% of all Catholics) believe that professional birth control information, services, and counseling should be made available to sexually active teenagers.

SOURCES:

"Oral Copulation Law Ruled Unconstitutional," *LOS ANGELES TIMES,* 12 September 1972.

"Connecticut Law on Abortions Overruled," UPI (Hartford, 21 September 1972 1972.

"Abortion, Birth Control Reforms Backed in Poll," *LOS ANGELES TIMES,* 25 August 1972.

reason profile

Despite congenital laziness, twenty-eight year old *REASON* circulation manager Lynn Kinsky has managed to keep up with the pace set by the other *REASON* owners. Juggling school, a professional career, work on the magazine, and sundry outside interests has become almost second nature to her. "Some things, like watching TV and doing my ironing, just don't get done anymore!"

Ms. Kinsky did her undergraduate work at the University of Wisconsin, Madison (B.S. with honors in 1966) with a major in chemistry and a minor in anthropology. She spent two years at Dartmouth College doing graduate work in organic chemistry, and then worked for a large pharmaceutical firm creating new drugs. In 1970 she and her husband, Robert Poole, Jr., moved to California and Ms. Kinsky switched her professional emphasis to the social sciences. She now works full-time as a consultant doing free response survey analysis and criminal justice research for a local "think-tank", and is a graduate student in sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Ms. Kinsky became interested in Objectivism and feminism while in her mid-teens and has pursued both interests actively since then. No believer in half-way measures, when the State insisted that she adopt her husband's name after marriage she went to court and legally resumed her maiden name. Since May she has been attending the weekly meetings of a libertarian women's consciousness-raising group in Los Angeles. "Being able to discuss important issues with independent, rational women who share my political philosophy is just great. It makes the long drive worth it."

Ms. Kinsky also manages to fit some leisure activities into her schedule. She enjoys listening to Beethoven, reading science fiction, playing with her cats, writing letters to friends ("when I can") and sunbathing nude by the swimming pool. She likes to garden and to take photographic portraits of people and animals, and is accomplished at sewing and needlecraft. She is basically sedentary except for swimming or occasionally hiking or tennis. "The only sport I'm passionate about is fencing, but it requires more commitment than I can spare right now." She hates to be bored—but with her schedule it isn't something she really has to worry about.

letters

ABORTION AND LIFE

I took particular note of Thomas Johnson's letter on abortion in the September '72 issue. I do not agree that "it is a well known and fully proven fact that an actual new human life begins at the time of fertilization of the egg, at conception," but I will reserve comment until I have read Dr. Johnson's article in *FREEMAN*. I will, however, explore the premise that an embryo "possesses the most basic of all rights, . . . the right to life."

The right to life does not guarantee the sustenance of life. As Rand states in an article cited by Dr. Johnson ("Man's Rights"), "A right does not include the material implementation of that right by other men; it includes only the freedom to earn that implementation by one's own effort." If the embryo is, indeed, fully human, its utter helplessness has no bearing on what it can ask of another fully human being. No hungry man can claim another man's bread simply on need. No embryo (or its champion) can claim a woman's life, even for nine months, simply because it cannot exist without that life. To demand this form of involuntary servitude betrays either altruistic leanings or the inability to apply one's concepts consistently.

An embryo's right to life can only equal, never supercede, its mother's right to life. As a wholly parasitic entity, an embryo's continued existence depends on the sanction of the woman whose exploited body must sustain it. Charity is voluntary. A woman has not sinned by refusing to feed a beggar. Why should the beggar within her have more rights than the one on the street? Why should it have more rights than she?

The holes in Dr. Johnson's logic are showing. Badly.

Ruth A. Miller
St. Louis, Missouri

ABORTION AND RIGHTS

I substantially agree with Prof. Thomas Johnson's letter objecting to the pro-abortion stand most libertarians take. The sperm and the egg, ununited, end their life cycles as a sperm and an egg respectively. But when union occurs, the sperm and the egg become something new, the human embryo, thus marking the beginning of a new human life cycle. Conception is creation, not birth or any other point along the way. The sperm and the egg, separated, are the potential human. The fertilized egg is the new individual, however unlike a person it may appear to be. Abortion is the cessation of a life, a human life, by means of aggressive force. It is a killing. Whatever one says the fertilized egg cell is, it is self-evident that it dies if aborted. I could mention and rebutt*[sic]* more arguments in favor of abortion, but I have a different purpose in writing this letter, that is, to point out the following.

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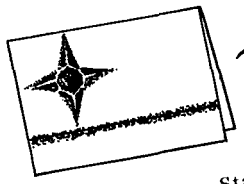

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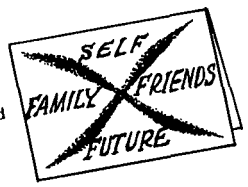

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Prof. Johnson refers the reader to his article in the *FREEMAN* magazine where he asserts that there is no conflict of interest between the parent and the child. (I use the term 'child' as a generic term and in contrast to the term 'parent'.) I don't agree with him on this point and, I believe, this is the tough nut of the abortion issue. He presented no demonstration or proof, but just rested his case on Miss Rand's statement about the rights of man. Because of the laws of nature, the child's existence and well-being are helplessly dependent upon the labor of the mother or substitute before and after birth. But if this labor is not performed voluntarily, then it must be classed as involuntary labor. Involuntary labor is inconsistent with the concept of man's rights. Here seems to be a clear-cut case of a conflict of interest between two people, perhaps an unresolvable one.

If all individuals have an absolute right to life, then it must follow that so does the innocent child. But Prof. Johnson said abortion should be allowed if it is it necessary to save the mother's life and when there has been a rape or incest, thus declaring the child's right to life is not an absolute. He is, in effect, saying there are times when he would allow the taking of an innocent child's life. Doesn't this situation have the makings of a conflict?

Prof. Johnson favors contraception as a means of avoiding the problem, but I don't think that affects the consideration of the abortion question. Contraception still isn't and certainly hasn't been foolproof and without its own complications. This week there were news articles citing side effects of vasectomies. The only sure method of contraception, not without its own side effects, is abstention, but who favors that?

If I had to make a decision today on abortion, I would tend to favor the rights of the mother because of her prior territorial claim to her body and because she is a person possessing awareness. The hapless kid is not responsible for his predicament or hers and it seems a shame for him to pay for it with his life, but fortunately he is not aware of what is happening to itself. Mother Nature is cold and amoral and doesn't give a damn about anyone's life or rights. Man being fallible and not omniscient, hasn't yet devised a perfect moral code that can be successfully applied to all situations yet.

Doris Gordon
Silver Spring, MD

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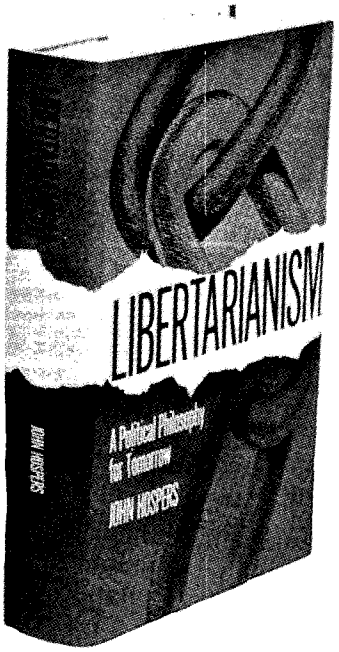

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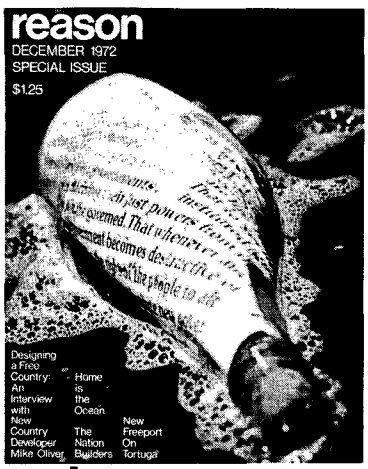

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